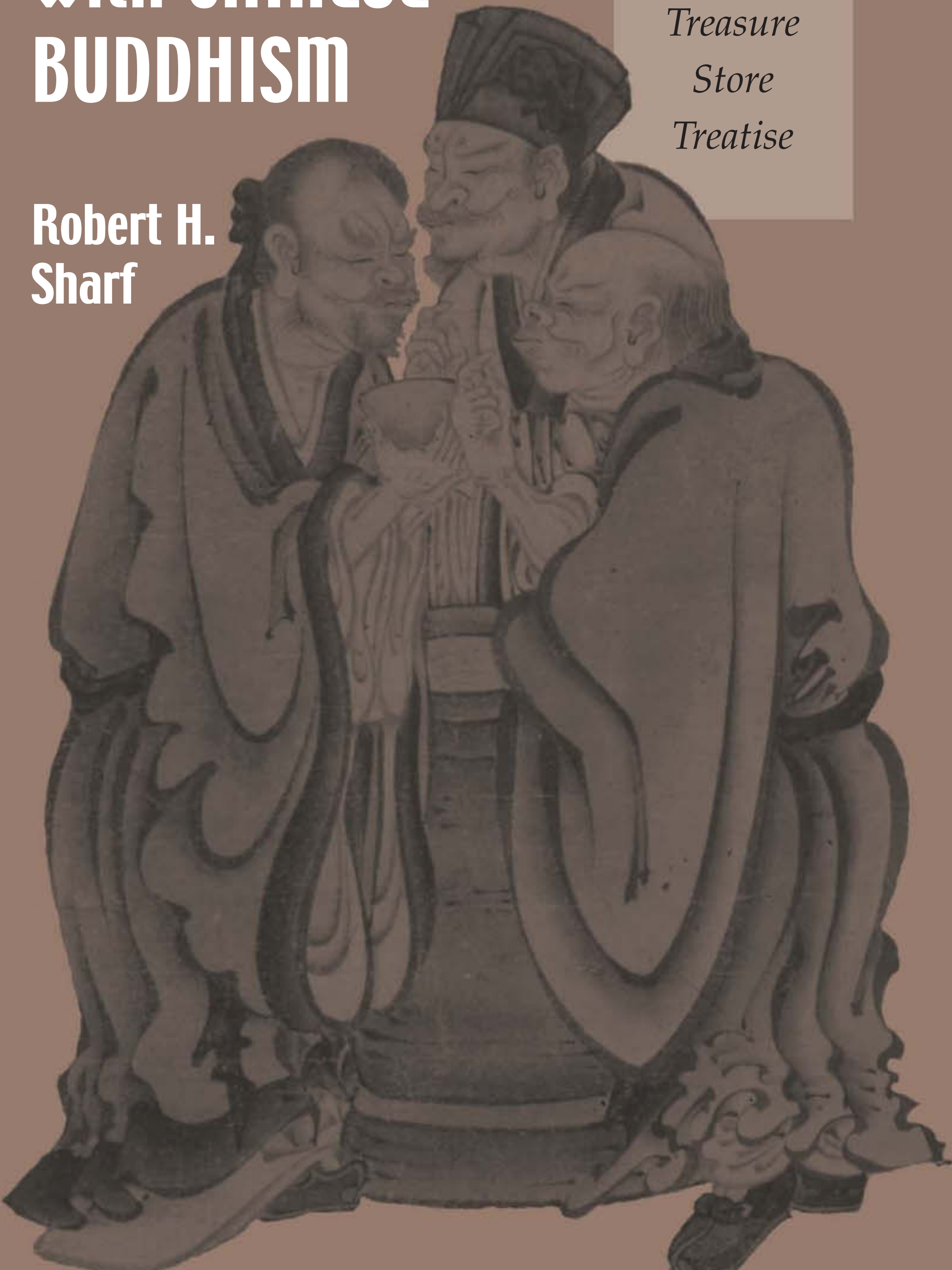
COMING to TERMS with CHINESE BUDDHISM

A Reading of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

Robert H. Sharf



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Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism

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To Betsy, Eva, and Eli

Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others.

—Mikhail Bakhtin

What is incomprehensible is that nothing*, and yet* everything*, has changed.*

—Ludwig Wittgenstein

The French for London is Paris.

—Eugène Ionesco

Contents

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Abbreviations

C.	Chinese
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HPC	*Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書
HR	*History of Religions*
HTC	*Hsü-tsang ching* 續藏經
HY.	*Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te* 道藏子目引得 (Harvard-Yenching Index to the Taoist Canon)
IBK	*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究
J.	Japanese
JIABS	*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*
MH	Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋徹次, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典
MZ	Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信享, *Mochizuki Bukkyō dai jiten* 望月佛教大辭典
P.	Fonds manuscrit de Tun-huang Pelliot
PTS	Pāli Text Society
PWYF	*P'ei-wen yün-fu* 佩文韻府
S.	The Stein Collection of Tun-huang manuscripts
Sk.	Sanskrit
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經
TP	*T'oung Pao*

Conventions of Usage

1. Texts in the Taoist Canon are referred to by their Harvard-Yenching Index number ("*HY.*"). This number is followed by the fascicle number(s) ("f.") of the 1925 Shanghai reprint of the canon of 1445.
2. References to texts in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932), are indicated by the text number ("T."), followed by the volume, page, register (a, b, or c), and, when appropriate, line number(s).
3. References to texts in the *Hsü-tsang ching* (Taipei: Shin-wen-feng, 1968–1970) are indicated by the volume number ("*HTC*"), followed by the page, register (a, b, c, or d), and, when appropriate, line number(s). (This is a reprinting of the *Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, edited by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 [Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905–1912].)
4. References to the *Chuang-tzu* 莊子 and the *Hsün-tzu* 荀子 are to the editions in the Harvard-Yenching Concordance Series and are cited using the concordance format (page/chapter/line).
5. References to the *Huang-t'ing ching* 黃庭經 are to the edition found in Schipper ed. 1975 and are cited using the concordance format (*nei* 內 for the "Inner Text," *wai* 外 for the "Outer Text," followed by section:line).
6. References to the *Tsu-t'ang chi* 祖堂集 are to the Korean edition found in Yanagida ed. 1984 and are cited using the concordance format (section.folio.line).
7. References to texts in the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* are to the Tongguk taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu edition (Seoul, 1979) and are cited by volume, page, register, and line number(s).

8. References to the *P'ei-wen yün-fu*, edited by Chang Yü-shu 張玉書 et al., are to the seven-volume Commercial Press edition (Taipei, 1966) and are cited by volume, page, and register (a, b, or c).
9. *Hōbōgirin* refers to the *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, edited by Paul Demiéville and Jacques May (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929–).
10. In quotations from secondary works, transliterations of Chinese terms have been changed, when necessary, to the Wade-Giles system.
11. The use of an asterisk preceding the title of a Sanskrit Buddhist text indicates that the title has been reconstructed on the basis of surviving Tibetan and/or East Asian materials.

Introduction

Prolegomenon to the Study of Medieval Chinese Buddhist Literature

If atoms are really to explain the origin of color and smell of visible material bodies, then they cannot possess properties like color and smell.

—Werner Heisenberg

The modern study of medieval Chinese religion has been divided broadly between two camps: the sinologists and the buddhologists. While the former often ignored Buddhism, the latter tended to ignore everything but. Such proclivities are not difficult to fathom. Sinologists were predisposed, by virtue of their historical and philological training, to identify with the literati culture of the "Confucian" elite, a culture that held Buddhism to be a morally corrupting foreign intrusion. Sinologists thus felt little compunction to venture into the arcane labyrinth of Buddhist scholasticism. (This is ironic: in many respects, the Chinese pedigree of late imperial Buddhism was of greater antiquity than that of the reinvented Neo-Confucian tradition cherished by the late imperial literati.) Buddhologists, in contrast, were naturally influenced by their training in Buddhist languages, history, and doctrine as well as by the considerable weight of contemporary Japanese Buddhist scholarship. Consequently, when seeking historical and intellectual antecedents for Chinese Buddhist phenomena, they tended to look toward India rather than toward non-Buddhist China. There were, needless to say, important exceptions to this division of labor; a number of scholars, particularly those associated with the "French school," brought the weight of their sinological talents to bear on their reading of Chinese Buddhist intellectual history. But for the most part, Anglo-American studies of Chinese Buddhism, particularly the Buddhism of the clerisy, have been dominated by buddhological models.[1]

The sinologists and buddhologists did have one thing in common: they both regarded Chinese Buddhism as the result of a protracted encounter between Indian Buddhism and Chinese civilization, an

encounter that led to the sinification of Buddhist teachings and practices. Chinese Buddhism was rendered, in effect, the mongrel offspring of an accidental, if not serendipitous, marriage whose progeny was never granted full citizenship in China.

Yet on reflection, the notion of an encounter between India and China may be historically and hermeneutically misleading. The Chinese were fully cognizant of the Indian origins of Buddhism, but their actual exposure to South Asian clerics or Sanskrit texts was severely limited throughout medieval times. The Chinese "encounter" or "dialogue" with Buddhism took place almost exclusively among the Chinese themselves, on Chinese soil, in the Chinese language. This study is, in part, an argument for treating Chinese Buddhism as the legitimate, if misunderstood, scion of sinitic culture. Whatever else it may be, Buddhism is the product of Buddhists, and the Buddhists in the case at hand were Chinese.

Background to the Book

This volume emerged from my attempt to understand a single medieval Chinese treatise of uncertain origin. I came upon the text quite by accident, while glancing through volume 45 of the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon. Tucked away in that volume is a little-known work titled the *Treasure Store Treatise* (*Pao-tsang lun* 寶藏論), attributed to the fifth-century exegete Seng-chao 僧肇 (374–414). I would, no doubt, have quickly passed the text by were it not for the opening lines: "Emptiness that can be deemed empty is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form is not true form." These lines were immediately recognizable as a Buddhist pastiche of the opening passage of the *Tao-te ching* 道德經: "The Way that can be talked about is not the constant Way. The name that can be named is not the constant name." My first reaction was to consider the *Treasure Store Treatise* passage a rather tawdry literary gambit. As I continued reading, this initial and somewhat hasty judgment seemed on target; the text appeared to be little more than a confused muddle of Juist, Taoist, and Buddhist ideas, expressed in unnecessarily turgid prose, with little obvious literary cohesion or philosophical subtlety. When I learned that modern scholars consider the attribution to Seng-chao to be apocryphal, I felt my intuition confirmed. Surely the attribution to the great exegete and disciple of Kumārajīva alone, and not intrinsic literary merit, led to the preservation of the *Treasure Store Treatise* and its inclusion in the canon.

As it turned out, my original estimation of the text was not shared by the Chinese Buddhist exegetical tradition. A little research soon revealed that the *Treasure Store Treatise* was held in considerable esteem by T'ang and Sung Buddhist masters. The prodigious scholiast Tsung-mi 宗密 (780–841) was familiar with and apparently fond of the treatise, as were Yün-men 雲門 (864–949), Yen-shou 延壽 (904–975), Ta-hui 大慧 (1089–1163), and many other eminent figures associated with medieval Ch'an. Two cases (*tse* 則) in the *Pi-yen lu* 碧巖録 (Blue Cliff Record) were derived from the *Treasure Store Treatise*, one of which became particularly popular in later *kung-an* 公案 (J. *kōan*) collections: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain." Moreover, the treatise is considered the locus classicus for the dialectical opposition of the terms "*li*" 離 and "*wei*" 微 ("transcendence" and "subtlety")—a dichotomy featured in a variety of later Ch'an materials. There was little doubt that Chinese Buddhist exegetes with more literary perspicuity than myself found the text edifying. Perhaps the deficiency I initially perceived in the treatise lay not in the literary or philosophical refinement of the text itself but in an inadequate strategy for decoding it.

I returned to the *Treasure Store Treatise* with a set of questions that I felt appropriate to this "syncretic" T'ang treatise: What is the polemic context of the work? Does the amalgam of traditional Juist, Taoist, and Mādhyamika concepts belie a superficial understanding, if not a forced misreading, of these traditions? What is the source of the conspicuous Taoist terminology found throughout the text? Why was the text adopted by scholiasts associated with early Ch'an in particular? Who exactly is the object of the sustained polemical attack on buddha-invocation practices (*nien-fo* 念佛) found in chapter 3? I had been interested in the ideological roots of Ch'an in the T'ang, and the *Treasure Store Treatise* seemed well situated to serve as the focus for an extended study.

In time I came to realize that my initial response to the treatise and the questions with which I originally framed my inquiry emerged from a set of widely held but nonetheless questionable assumptions concerning the character and development of Chinese Buddhism. Following the lead of contemporary scholarship, I had unwittingly come to conceive of Chinese religion in general and Buddhism in particular in terms of a clearly delimited set of normative teachings—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism—each subdivided into various schools, sects, and lineages. (Such normative traditions are under-

stood as definitive of "high religion," as opposed to "low" traditions, which were, until recently, often ignored by sinologists and buddhologists alike. While the high traditions supposedly comprised clearly articulated and internally coherent doctrinal and ritual systems, the low traditions are frequently viewed as diluted, syncretic, diffuse, corrupt, or even degenerate transmutations of the elite norms.) For the scholar of Chinese Buddhism, first and foremost among the normative traditions is "Indian Buddhism," often construed as a sophisticated system of doctrine and practice preserved by the monastic elite. The Indian Buddhist tradition was not univocal; it sanctioned a variety of competing but interrelated philosophical positions, systematized into discrete exegetical "schools": Sarvāstivāda, Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, and so on. All such schools were deemed orthodox or legitimate in China by virtue of canonical sanction and the prestige of their Indian ancestry. The story of Chinese Buddhism is then the history of the Indian Buddhist tradition, embodied in various scriptures, exegetical schools, ritual practices, and monastic institutions, moving eastward, infiltrating every stratum of Chinese society.

The issue of sinification—the manner and extent to which Buddhism and Chinese culture were transformed through their mutual encounter and dialogue—emerged to dominate the study of Chinese Buddhism for much of the past century. The titles of seminal works in the field—"The Indianization of China" (Hu Shih 1937), *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Zürcher 1972), *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Ch'en 1973), *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Gregory 1991), and so on—bear witness to the enduring allure of this narrative trope. It may now be time to reassess the hermeneutic and epistemic entailments of the encounter paradigm.

The Story of Chinese Buddhism

The textbook account of the encounter between Buddhism and Chinese civilization begins with Buddhism drifting into China in the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) via trade routes linking China to Central and South Asia. Most of the early Buddhist missionaries in China were associated with Mahāyāna, a fact that bespeaks the growing popularity of this movement in India at the time. Buddhism extolled celibacy, mendicancy, and other forms of social renunciation, making it antithetical in many respects to prevailing Confucian mores. But as Confucianism fell into disrepute in the latter years of the

Eastern Han, members of the Chinese elite were drawn to Buddhist texts, doctrine, and meditation practices owing to compelling but ultimately superficial and misleading similarities with Taoism.

The first generations of Buddhists in China did their best in the face of daunting obstacles. The scarcity of authoritative Indian Buddhist masters coupled with the lack of accurate translations of Indian texts rendered a proper understanding of Buddhism well-nigh impossible. This situation together with the appearance of a plethora of "apocryphal" scriptures (indigenous Chinese texts written so as to resemble translations of Indic originals) exacerbated the propensity to confuse or conflate Buddhism with native Chinese thought. (The most conspicuous example of this tendency is the early hermeneutic strategy known as "matching concepts" [*ko-i* 格義], which entailed the explicit pairing of Indian Buddhist and native Chinese terms and categories.) The confusion lasted for over two centuries. Then, in 401, the distinguished Kuchean Buddhist scholar Kumārajīva (Chiu-mo-lo-shih 鳩摩羅什, 350–ca. 409),[2] long held captive in Liang-chou, was rescued by Yao Hsing 姚興 (r. 394–416), ruler of the Later Ch'in dynasty, and brought to the capital, Ch'ang-an. With the generous patronage of the court, Kumārajīva oversaw the translation of dozens of major Buddhist scriptures and commentaries, and schooled a distinguished cohort of Chinese monks in the intricacies of Indian Buddhist doctrine. Kumārajīva's relatively lucid translations coupled with the training he imparted to his disciples allowed for a more sophisticated, if not "authentic," Chinese encounter with Indian Buddhism.

The work of Kumārajīva and the South Asian missionaries and translators who followed him—figures such as Bodhiruci (P'u-t'i-liu-chih 菩提流支, arrived in China in 508) and Paramārtha (Chen-ti 眞諦, 499–569)—facilitated the development of Chinese counterparts to Indian exegetical systems, including San-lun 三論 (based on Indian Mādhyamika treatises), Ti-lun 地論 (based on the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*), and She-lun 攝論 (based on the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*). These schools evolved during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (ca. 317–ca. 589), a period in which the more ascetic, devotional, and thaumaturgic forms of Buddhism found a home in the "barbarian" kingdoms of the north, while the more metaphysical and philosophical facets of Buddhism proved attractive to segments of the displaced Han elite in the south.

The Sui (581–618) and T'ang (618–906) dynasties constitute, ac-

cording to this narrative, the "Golden Age" of Chinese Buddhism. Advances in ship-building and marine navigation opened the Southeast Asian sea route, while the westward expansion of Chinese military and political control facilitated travel and trade along the Central Asian silk road, allowing Chinese pilgrims such as Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (ca. 600–664) and I-ching 義淨 (635–713) to journey to India, study at Nālandā and other centers of Indian Buddhist learning, and return with the latest texts and teachings. Chinese pilgrims joined a steady stream of Indian and Central Asian immigrant Buddhist monks in applying their linguistic and doctrinal expertise to the production of ever more faithful translations of Indian texts. At the same time, a succession of eminent South Asian Tantric patriarchs—notably Śubhakarasiṃha (Shan-wu-wei 善無畏, 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Chin-kang-chih 金剛智, 671–741), and Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung 不空, 705–774)—arrived at the Chinese capital and, with the enthusiastic support of the court, disseminated the latest forms of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. The favorable cultural and political climate together with the patronage of a succession of Sui and T'ang rulers spurred the development of truly indigenous Chinese schools, including T'ien-t'ai 天台, Hua-yen 華嚴, Pure Land, and, most important of all, Ch'an 禪. Chinese Buddhism had come of age: the Chinese were ready and willing to distance themselves from the unquestioned authority of the Indian tradition and to strike out in new directions.

The An Lu-shan 安祿山 rebellion of 755, which brought the T'ang court to the brink of political and financial collapse, marks the beginning of the end of large-scale state patronage of Buddhism. This crisis was followed some ninety years later by the Hui-ch'ang 會昌 persecution, which proved particularly devastating to those schools best known for textual exegesis, such as T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, and Fa-hsiang 法相. The Buddhist traditions that were to emerge from the T'ang relatively unscathed—Pure Land and Ch'an—survived precisely because they were less dependent on scriptural learning, monastic ritual, and clerical tutelage, and thus were less susceptible to the vagaries of state and aristocratic patronage. Pure Land and Ch'an were oriented toward individual faith and salvation gained through meditative practice, respectively, rendering them accessible and appealing to the masses. As such, these traditions, infused at times with popular forms of Tantra, came to dominate the Chinese Buddhist landscape down to the present day. However, this syncretic form of Buddhist practice failed to inspire the kinds of doctrinal creativity and sophisti-

cation seen in the T'ang period. Intellectually, Buddhism went into a long and inexorable decline from which it never recovered.

The master narrative outlined above has endured for close to a century. It was formalized by Arthur Wright over forty years ago, when he divided Chinese Buddhist history into four periods of "preparation" (Eastern Han and early Six Dynasties), "domestication" (Northern and Southern Dynasties), "independent growth" (Sui and T'ang dynasties), and "appropriation" (Five Dynasties to 1900; Wright 1959). While modern scholars quibble over the details, the underlying narrative structure has proven remarkably resilient, and we continue to view the development of Chinese Buddhism in terms of an extended encounter between India and China. Accordingly, research tends to focus on the processes of domestication and transformation, which raise the issue of the fidelity of Chinese Buddhism to Indian models. Did native Chinese Buddhist schools such as T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, and Ch'an ultimately remain true to the underlying philosophical, spiritual, and soteriological insights of their Indian forebears? Or was Indian Buddhism irrevocably altered in the process of rendering it into a Chinese idiom? And if the evidence weighs in favor of the latter position, might it be better to abandon the notion of Buddhism altogether in favor of multiple, regionally or culturally specific "Buddhisms"?

For all the intellectual attractions of this line of inquiry, scholars have come to recognize that the master narrative on which it is based is riddled with historical and hermeneutic problems. To mention merely a few: while the first South and Central Asian clerics to arrive in China during the second and third centuries were indeed associated with Mahāyāna, they may well have been religious refugees, rather than missionaries, and thus their presence in China is not evidence of the ascendancy of Mahāyāna in Central Asia, much less India, at this time.[3] The claim that Kumārajīva's translations were more "accurate" than those of his predecessors is also problematic, an important issue to which I shall return. While nominal entities such as San-lun, Ti-lun, and She-lun are often treated as discrete schools or traditions, they are better regarded as organizational categories applied after the fact by medieval Buddhist historians and bibliographers. The notion that the T'ang dynasty was the golden age of Buddhism in general and Ch'an in particular turns out to be the product of Sung Ch'an polemicists; there is little evidence that the major Ch'an figures of

the T'ang viewed themselves as belonging to an independent tradition or school. And despite its rhetoric Ch'an was no less dependent on the written word, on formal monastic ritual, and on state and aristocratic patronage than was any other Buddhist tradition in China.[4] Pure Land never existed at all as an independent exegetical tradition, much less an institution or sect, in T'ang or Sung China, and the same appears to be true of Tantra or Vajrayāna.[5] These too are historiographic and bibliographic categories wielded by sectarian scholiasts long after the phenomena in question. The notion that Buddhism went into a protracted decline following the watershed of the T'ang is similarly based on long-standing but unwarranted historiographical biases; Buddhist institutions and intellectual traditions continued to flourish through the Sung dynasty (960–1279) and enjoyed periods of renewed vigor and growth in later periods as well.[6] Finally, while Ch'an, Pure Land, and Vajrayāna continue to be construed in psychological terms—as oriented toward personal liberation, self-transformation, meditative experience, or faith—this conception is in large part the product of twentieth-century Buddhist apologetics.[7]

Many of the specific problems with the master narrative can be traced to a tendency to confuse sectarian polemics with social history. Foreign students of Chinese Buddhism find themselves peering back at the tradition through centuries of East Asian Buddhist scholarship, a scholarly heritage that continues to reflect traditional sectarian concerns down to the present day. Japanese scholars, whose textual erudition and philological authority is justifiably lauded, have exercised a particularly strong influence on their Western students. Yet the work of the Japanese scholars, many of whom are sons of Buddhist priests if not priests themselves, is often informed by a set of assumptions concerning the nature of Chinese Buddhism that reflect historical developments specific to Japan.

Japanese Buddhism, from its very inception, was subject to a degree of autocratic state control that surpassed anything seen in early Buddhist China. Government oversight of all aspects of Buddhist activity encouraged competition, if not open strife, among individual teachers, lineages, and temples as they contended for the patronage of the court and the aristocratic families in what was often a zero-sum game. State control was but one of several factors that led to the overriding sense of lineal and sectarian identity that came to characterize Japanese Buddhism. The Japanese Buddhist monastic institution quickly evolved into multiple independent and somewhat exclusion-

ary schools, formally recognized and superintended by the central government, each holding to distinctive modes of dress, liturgy, ritual, and doctrine, and each governed by its own centralized ecclesiastic organization. The situation in China was quite different; while the Chinese state did attempt to regulate the *saṃgha* and control its growth and influence, efforts in this direction were tempered by geographical, cultural, and political contingencies. It was not until the Northern Sung that the central government formally authorized the association between a particular monastery and a specific lineage or school, and even then sectarian consciousness remained muted in comparison with Japan. Chinese monks, irrespective of their ordination lineage, were bound together by their adherence to a more or less common monastic code, a common mode of dress, a common stock of liturgical and ritual knowledge, and so on. As such, there were relatively few barriers standing in the way of Chinese monks who wished to travel from one monastery to another in search of new teachers and teachings. Periods of peregrination were the norm, a practice that contributed to the consolidation of the Chinese *saṃgha* across the vast reaches of the empire.

Scholars are now aware that the lines separating San-lun from T'ien-t'ai, T'ien-t'ai from Pure Land, Pure Land from Ch'an, Ch'an from Neo-Confucianism, elite from popular, and popular from Tantra are by no means as clear as was once thought.[8] Indeed, some of these so-called schools never existed at all as self-conscious institutional entities or religious movements in China. Even the fundamental distinctions between Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism need to be reconsidered: none of these traditions correspond to the self-contained religious and philosophical systems described in many textbook accounts.

As a corrective, scholars such as Daniel Overmyer, Michel Strickmann, Stephen Teiser, and Erik Zürcher have argued that we should place less stock in materials produced by the clerical elite in favor of research into popular belief and practice. Zürcher notes that "as soon as we go below that top level, quite another picture emerges, in which Buddhism loses much of its sharp contour, as it is absorbed into the surrounding mass of Chinese indigenous religion."[9] Such an approach, coupled with a growing enthusiasm among scholars of Asian religion for social history, promises to redress our understanding of Chinese Buddhism writ large. But attention to popular practice should not serve as an excuse to ignore the products of the elite tradition

altogether; to do so is to leave current models for the study of Buddhist doctrinal and intellectual history—models that continue to reflect Japanese sectarian concerns—largely intact. For the most part, modern studies of medieval Buddhist doctrine are still framed in terms of interrelationships between discrete and autonomous historical entities.

The reified entities that loom largest in the master narrative are "Indian Buddhism" and "Chinese culture." For what is sinification if not the result of the Chinese attempt to comprehend, represent, and assimilate the Buddhism of India? Scholars model the process of assimilation in different ways, depending on whether they are predisposed to highlight fidelity to the Indian tradition (the Buddhist conquest of China) or the overpowering force of sinitic culture (the Chinese transformation of Buddhism). The former position might be conceived along the lines of Gadamer's "fusion of horizons." According to this model, the continuing dialogue between the Buddhist and native Chinese traditions over the course of many centuries overcame imposing linguistic and cultural barriers and gave rise to a hermeneutic sophistication that allowed the Chinese to appreciate Indian Buddhism for what it was, even while dressing it in new garb. The latter case—the "transformation" model in its most radical sense—might be likened to the grain of sand that, irritating the oyster, gives rise to a fine pearl. The birth of the pearl is undeniably due to the stimulus of the sand, yet the original grain is unrecognizable in the finished product. Many scholars would prefer to steer a middle course between the two extremes, highlighting both the profound influence of Buddhism on Chinese culture and the manner in which Buddhism was altered as it was rendered into a Chinese idiom. Yet the desire to find middle ground should not serve as an excuse to ignore or evade the underlying hermeneutical issues.[10]

For example, some scholars continue to view the early use of *ko-i* (matching concepts) or the use of the *Tao-te ching* and the *Chuang-tzu* 莊子 in Buddhist exegesis as paradigmatic of the tendency to misconstrue Buddhism by casting it in native Chinese terms. It is true that in the latter days of the Han dynasty, Chinese interested in Taoist meditative disciplines approached Buddhism, mediated through works such as An Shih-kao's 安世高 translations of *dhyāna* scriptures, as a new and powerful means to attain long life and immortality. As a result, the Wei-Chin/North-South Dynasties period witnessed the compilation of a host of Taoist scriptures with strong Buddhist resonances as

well as apocryphal Buddhist sūtras replete with Taoist cosmology, terminology, and messianic eschatology.[11] But why approach such developments as a "misconstrual" of Buddhism? (Did the early Roman Christians "misconstrue" Judaism? Did nineteenth-century Mormons "misconstrue" Christianity?)

According to the master narrative, such misunderstandings were ameliorated as the Chinese were given access to more accurate translations, such as those by Kumārajīva. Such translations supposedly provided the Chinese with the conceptual resources with which to overcome the distorting influence of traditional Chinese metaphysics and soteriology, resulting in a more accurate or authentic engagement with Buddhist ideas.[12] Yet it is unclear just what is meant by "accurate" or "authentic" in this context. Certainly there was a considerable increase in scholastic sophistication by the end of the Six Dynasties. But the attention of Buddhist exegetes continued to be drawn to topics that resonated with long-standing intellectual and ethical concerns in China: questions as to the universality of buddhanature or the soteriological and ethical significance of the "matrix of buddhahood" (*ju-lai tsang* 如來藏, Sk. *tathāgatagarbha*), for example, recalled perennial Chinese disputes over the moral valence of human nature (*hsing* 性). Similarly, Chinese Buddhists mulled over the nature of sainthood (*sheng* 聖), drawing explicitly on Chinese archetypes of the sage-king that went back to the Chou dynasty, if not earlier. And in the T'ang dynasty there was an increasing preoccupation with issues of lineage and transmission, reflecting traditional Chinese concerns with lineal patrimony and the veneration of one's ancestors. It is only natural that Chinese Buddhist exegetes should focus on moral and metaphysical issues of long-standing concern to Chinese intellectuals. The question, then, is not whether the Chinese ever "got Buddhism right," but rather what this might mean.

As is well known, *ko-i* was explicitly repudiated as early as the fourth century by Tao-an 道安 (312–385), who recognized its shortcomings. Yet this did not, and indeed could not, stop the Chinese from rendering Buddhism in a language with which they were familiar. How else was Buddhism to be understood in China, short of mastering the original languages of Indian Buddhism? (And even then, as students of Sanskrit know all too well, understanding is by no means assured.) Moreover, while scholars generally agree that Kumārajīva's translations represent an advance over those of his predecessors, they are far from transparent semantic transcriptions. On the contrary, the popu-

larity of Kumārajīva's translations was not due to their fidelity to the originals—who would have been in a position to judge?—but rather to the elegance and accessibility of his prose. (Note that Kumārajīva's translations continued to be favored long after the more technically "accurate" translations of Hsüan-tsang became available.)

More to the point, our own position as arbiters of the fidelity of Chinese translations or of the pertinence of indigenous Chinese Buddhist exegesis is far from unassailable. The historical development of Indian Mahāyāna remains poorly understood even today. Scholars continue to disagree over the fundamental impetus for the Mahāyāna movement (was it social, institutional, doctrinal, or ritual?), over its primary audience (monastic or lay?), and so on. Our relative ignorance of the cultural, social, and institutional provenance of Indian Mahāyāna frustrates attempts to recover the original doctrinal and ideological import of Mahāyāna scriptures and treatises. It is thus not surprising that, despite decades of concerted effort, there is still little consensus among scholars concerning the meaning of seminal Mādhyamika and Yogācāra tenets.[13] Our appraisal of the accuracy of Chinese translations and interpretations is, therefore, compromised by our own distance from the Indic originals. Indeed, we are at a far greater temporal and geographic remove from the Indian sources than were the Chinese of the Six Dynasties and the T'ang.[14]

The Chinese looked to Buddhism for answers to questions that they found apposite—they approached Chinese translations of Buddhist texts not as glosses on the Indic originals, but as valuable resources that addressed their own immediate conceptual, social, and existential concerns. Accordingly, in order to understand the answers they found, we must first deduce the questions they were asking, questions whose historical, linguistic, and conceptual genealogy was largely Chinese. This elementary and oft-repeated Gadamerian insight tends to be ignored in the scholarly act of glossing a Chinese Buddhist term with its technical Sanskrit "equivalent." While I too indulge in this venerable buddhological convention, my task in this study is to reveal the intellectual chicanery that often goes unnoticed in such philological sleight of hand.

Normative Buddhism

There is another problem with scholarly depictions of the so-called Chinese encounter with Buddhism, namely, the ahistorical reification of Buddhism itself. The master narrative tends to approach Buddhism

as a disembodied corpus of scripture, doctrine, mythology, and ethics that can be extracted readily from its specific regional and cultural deployments. As such, prescriptive documents wrenched from any meaningful sociological context form the basis of many textbook accounts of Buddhism in general and Indian Buddhism in particular. The image of Buddhism that emerges is then employed as a standard against which to measure later deviation or, in the case of China, sinification.[15]

As Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth centuries ago, we are unable to appraise the credibility of our textually based reconstructions against a body of ethnographic data. Without knowing something of the social and ideological setting in which the surviving Indian Buddhist corpus took shape, our understanding of the significance of said corpus is destined to remain speculative at best.[16] Recently, Gregory Schopen and others have attempted to fill this lacuna with the help of archaeological, epigraphical, and art historical remains, a material record that may help to mitigate confusions between canonical prescription and historical description.[17]

The growing body of archaeological evidence has forced scholars to revise their image of early and medieval Indian Buddhism. Contrary to received textbook accounts, we find the early *saṃgha* engaged in the worship of an omnipotent buddha through the veneration of relics, stūpas, images, and sacred texts. Filial piety, the offering of material goods to the *saṃgha*, transference of merit, and the appeasing of local spirits played a central role in monastic as well as in lay discipline. Monks appear to have retained vestiges of their hereditary social status after ordination, and some, at least, continued to manage personal property. Monasteries often controlled tremendous wealth, including vast landholdings and slaves. And many of the practices once dismissed as "popular accretions" or relegated to the category "Tantra"—notably the invocation of deities through the worship of images and the concomitant belief in the magical efficacy of ritual performance and sacred utterance—turn out not to be later borrowings from Brahmanism, Hinduism, or folk cults, but to be part and parcel of Buddhist devotion from early on. In short, Indian Buddhism is beginning to look more like a "religion" and less like the atheistic, rational, and humanistic creed that apologists are sometimes disposed to discover in the canon.

When we turn to the living cultures in which Buddhism still survives, we find Buddhism inextricably alloyed with autochthonous traditions. Buddhism, in both its lay and monastic forms, is suffused with

shamanism, ancestor worship, cults directed toward the veneration of aboriginal gods and local holy men, thaumaturgy, auguring and divination, appeasement of baleful spirits and wayward ghosts, ritual possession and exorcism, and any number of other indigenous practices, some of which are explicitly proscribed in Buddhist scripture.[18]

There do exist religious communities that seek to divest themselves of such "popular accretions" in order to return to their authentic Buddhist roots. Perhaps the most conspicuous contemporary examples are found among the Theravāda monastic reform movements of Southeast Asia or among Sŏn reform movements in Korea. But the rhetoric of reform—of returning to an earlier, more pristine monasticism oriented toward lofty soteriological goals—has been a ubiquitous if not beguiling trope throughout Buddhist history. The discourse of reform and purification is predicated on the ability to distinguish genuine versus ersatz teachings, orthodox versus apocryphal texts, essential versus extraneous rites, authentic versus spurious lineages, and so on. And there are simply no universally accepted doctrinal or historical grounds on which to base such distinctions; they remain, in the end, judgment calls influenced not only by scripture and tradition, but also by contemporary social and political contingencies. To claim privileged access to original or pure Buddhism, whether on the basis of lineage, knowledge of scripture, meditative discipline, inner purity, or personal insight, is to claim the authority and prestige of the tradition as one's own. Thus, from a historian's point of view, such claims to "speak for the tradition" must be examined with an eye to their immediate polemical and institutional investments. (Note that contemporary Buddhist reform movements often draw, albeit selectively, on the work of contemporary Buddhist scholarship and thus inadvertently lend ethnographic credibility to textbook reconstructions of normative Buddhism.)

Accordingly, it seems prudent to assume that Buddhism, even in the land of its origin, would have been fully implicated in a wide variety of local religious practices that had little if any scriptural sanction. Scripture has always been but one factor of many determining the contours of Buddhist religious life. Not that this would have been pleasing to medieval Buddhist scholiasts, whose own authority was predicated on their access to and facility with scripture. Some among the Buddhist intelligentsia clearly favored prohibiting such incursions; these folks left their traces in the welter of often contradictory interdictions directed against divination, thaumaturgy, and so on. But even

then the scholiasts' conception of "pure" or "essential" Buddhism was anything but consistent, and their own shrill and unremitting warnings together with the extant archeological record suggest that few were paying attention. There is thus little reason to assume that the depiction of Buddhist monastic life found in the scriptures ever bore much resemblance to the situation on the ground. It was, rather, an idealized ideological construct that in all likelihood existed in marked tension with living practice. As Jonathan Z. Smith has cogently argued, the social and cognitive allure of religious systems lies in precisely this gap between the ideal and the actual (Smith 1982).

Wherever Buddhism moved, the local Buddhist clergy was compelled to reconstruct its own functional model(s) of normative Buddhism so as to establish the foundation and compass of ecclesiastical authority. This complex process involved deciphering, systematizing, and ranking the often haphazard collection of texts, teachings, and ritual traditions at its disposal. The proliferation of *p'an-chiao* 判教 ("tenet classification") schemes in China comes immediately to mind, but analogous attempts at creating comprehensive and definitive accounts of the buddha-dharma can be found throughout Asia.[19] And now the process is repeated anew by the authors of modern textbooks; they too must decide what to include, what to exclude, and how to create a semblance of order. They too tend to base their decisions on prescriptive documents largely bereft of historical or social context. But while there are similarities between the work of medieval scholiasts and that of modern scholars, there are also vast differences. For one thing, the textbook author begins by framing Buddhism not as the embodiment of truth, but as one of many "world religions"—an anachronistic and misleading category that emerged out of nineteenth-century Christian theology.[20] And in keeping with nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century predilections, Buddhism continues to be portrayed by some as a humanistic creed that eschews ritual worship and faith in favor of transformative mystical experience—a characterization that would, no doubt, perplex medieval Buddhist commentators.

In looking at the variety of phenomena subsumed under the rubric of Buddhism, it is tempting to invoke the notion of "syncretism." Buddhism would then be construed as an autonomous religious system that originated in India and assimilated (or was assimilated by) a variety of regional traditions and cults as it traveled across Asia. Thus, there would be Taoist-Buddhist syncretism in China, Bon-Buddhist syncretism in Tibet, Shinto-Buddhist syncretism in Japan, and so on.

The problem is that the category of syncretism presupposes the existence of distinct religious entities that predate the syncretic amalgam, precisely what is absent, or at least unrecoverable, in the case of Buddhism. (Nor are modern scholars on firmer ground in their attempt to recover pre-Buddhist Taoism, Bon, or Shinto; each of these traditions postdates the introduction of Buddhism into its respective region, and each was constructed, at least in part, as Buddhism's "autochthonous other," while yet borrowing liberally from Buddhist institutions, ritual, iconography, and doctrine.)[21] In the final analysis, pure or unadulterated Buddhism is little more than an analytic abstraction posited by Buddhist polemicists, apologists, reformers, and now scholars. Perhaps we have managed to persist in talking of Buddhism in the abstract for so long simply because the complex, living reality of Indian Buddhism is no longer around to challenge us.

I am not suggesting that we abandon the term "Buddhism" altogether. Educated Buddhist clerics throughout history have distinguished, at least in the abstract, Buddhist from non-Buddhist teachings and practices, but the manner in which they did so differed significantly from place to place, school to school. The term "Buddhism" turns out to be a site of unremitting contestation, as a cacophony of voices—each averring privileged access to the essence of the tradition—lays claim to its authority. Our own attempts to identify or stipulate the fundamental tenets, core practices, or even "family resemblances" that characterize Buddhism do little more than add to this unremitting din, while at the same time distracting us from the obvious: the power of the term is sustained in part by its very indeterminacy, its function as a placeholder. The authority of the word "Buddhism" lies not in its normative signification(s) so much as in its rhetorical deployments.[22]

This indeterminacy forced local Buddhist ecclesiastics to circumscribe orthodoxy and orthopraxis by juxtaposing Buddhism with the heterodox teachings of their immediate rivals. The Jains would thus play a pivotal, if unacknowledged, role in the stipulation of Buddhist orthodoxy in India; Bon played an analogous role in Tibet, Taoism in China, *kami* worship in Japan, and so on. This polemical use of the "other" is not unique to Buddhism: scholars have pointed out the degree to which virtually all self-conscious religious traditions—not to mention national, cultural, and ethnic groupings—define themselves through contradistinction with the beliefs and practices of their

neighbors.[23] Confucianism, to pick one salient example, did not emerge out of a consistent or unique set of philosophical or ethical principles. Rather, T'ang and Sung literati circumscribed the Juist tradition largely by contrasting it with what they found most distasteful in Buddhism and Taoism.[24] And individual Chinese Buddhist lineages and exegetical traditions similarly defined themselves through contrast with the "inferior," if not "erroneous," teachings and practices of their Buddhist rivals.[25]

It would be of little heuristic advantage to jettison the term "Buddhism" simply because it lacks a consistent historical or doctrinal referent. (Indeed, were we to forswear all ill-defined signifiers, we would quickly be reduced to silence.) While there may have been little pan-Asian consensus as to what was signified by the word, it was, nonetheless, invested with considerable rhetorical and suasive power. The source of this power was determined according to local norms and expectations. Authority was attributed to the witness of an omniscient buddha; the thaumaturgic power and prophetic insight of local Buddhist saints; the mastery of esoteric ritual; the miraculous potency of sacred relics, images, and texts; or, in more recent times, a percipient understanding of consciousness and the human condition ascertained through astute philosophical analysis coupled with meditative insight. In discussing the Chinese appropriation of Buddhism, therefore, one must remain mindful of the rhetorical dimensions of the term; "Buddhism" was, and remains to this day, a contested term whose meaning should not be sought in some definitive set of myths, doctrines, or practices, but rather in the modes of authority it warranted in diverse cultural and regional settings.

Cross-Cultural Dialogue, Syncretism, and Alterity

In their analysis of the evolution of Chinese Buddhism, scholars have appealed to the notion of syncretism, that is, the analysis of religious phenomena in terms of the interaction and borrowing between two or more traditions.[26] Indeed, the rubric of syncretism has become ubiquitous in the study of Chinese religion writ large; the Chinese, students are told, are predisposed to syncretic accommodation, perhaps best exemplified in the doctrine of the unity of the three creeds (*san-chiao ho-i* 三教合一).[27]

The notion of syncretism would seem particularly apposite to the

analysis of the Chinese engagement with Buddhism: as I have discussed, Chinese Buddhism has been approached as emerging from an encounter between two distinct religious cultures, an encounter that engendered a certain degree of mutual borrowing and syncretic rapprochement.

On examination, however, the metaphor of cultural dialogue is misleading. The routes connecting South and Central Asia to China were long and perilous, and for much of medieval history, travel between these regions was difficult if not impossible. While foreign monks with mastery over Buddhist scripture and doctrine, such as Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva, Bodhiruci, and Paramārtha, played an important role in the transmission process, they were relatively few in number, and their command of Chinese was often wanting.[28] And while some Chinese pilgrims did successfully journey to India, develop fluency in Indic languages, acquire religious texts, images, and ritual paraphernalia, and return home to transmit their understanding of Buddhism, only a handful are remembered in the historical record for their contributions to the transmission of Buddhism to China.

There is, in fact, little evidence that Indian or even Central Asian Buddhist priests were ever active in large numbers in medieval China. Foreign translators and exegetes influenced religious history primarily through the agency of their Chinese translations and commentaries, and even then it is only with qualification that they can be considered "translators" in the modern sense of the term: not all of the foreign monks celebrated as translators were fully conversant in Chinese, and fewer still were fully literate in the written language. The foreign priests were primarily responsible for reading, reciting from memory, or explicating the original text in their native vernacular, while the actual task of producing a Chinese rendering was done by one or more Chinese scribes (*pi-shou* 筆受), often with the help of bilingual translators who may or may not have had facility with Buddhist doctrine and terminology.[29] Translation teams could not afford to be choosy about their staff, as bilingual translators, whether of foreign or Chinese descent, were a rare commodity throughout Chinese history.[30] In short, the role of immigrant missionaries and translators in the evolution of Chinese Buddhism is easily overstated; while foreign translators are often given a prominent role at the beginning of Chinese Buddhist biographical collections,

they compose a relatively small fraction of the thousands of monks memorialized in such works, and they are rarely reckoned among the recognized founders or patriarchs of Chinese Buddhist schools.

Similarly, with the exception of *dhāraṇī* and mantra—sacred formulae that are largely devoid of discursive content—the Chinese engagement with Indian Buddhist ritual and liturgy was mediated through the Chinese language. As for Indian monastic codes, they were translated into Chinese and made the subject of extensive commentaries, but in the end they proved inadequate as regulators of Chinese monastic life, necessitating the evolution of supplementary monastic regulations, known as "pure rules" (*ch'ing-kuei* 清規), that took into account the specific social and institutional contingencies of the Chinese *saṃgha* (Collcutt 1983).

It is thus difficult to speak in simple terms of a Chinese dialogue or encounter with Indian Buddhism. Chinese functioned as the sole Buddhist ecclesiastical language from the inception of Buddhism in the Han down through the medieval period, and given the paucity of bilingual clerics, whatever "dialogue" transpired took place largely among the Chinese themselves. Their encounter was with a Buddhism already sinified if only by virtue of being rendered, through an often convoluted process of translation and exegesis, into the native tongue. There were exceptions: as mentioned above, some Chinese successfully made the round trip to India and back, while others studied directly under immigrant Central or South Asian masters resident in China. But the tendency has been to construe such figures as paradigmatic of the process of transmission and domestication rather than as relatively isolated exceptions.

Given the fragmentary nature of this encounter, the alterity of Indian Buddhism would have gone largely unrecognized by Chinese Buddhists. Besides, as philosophers of cultural incommensurability have noted, the "other" is only recognized as such to the extent that it can be transcribed into a meaningful and thus to some extent familiar idiom.[31] Like ships passing in the night, seminal features of Indian Buddhist thought simply failed to capture the attention, or at least the imagination, of the Chinese. Even in the so-called golden age of the T'ang, the primary concerns of Buddhist exegetes, as shall become clear in the course of this study, lay in areas that had intellectual antecedents in pre-Buddhist China.

The problems of cross-cultural transmission and translation were

exacerbated by specific features of Chinese language and orthography. As scholars have long pointed out, despite extensive and prolonged contact with foreigners, the Chinese language remained relatively free of phonetic loan words; the Chinese preferred to translate foreign terms and concepts, creating sinitic neologisms when necessary (Harbsmeier 1998:31). This was in part because of cultural factors (a deep-rooted conviction in the superiority of Chinese culture and language), compounded by the use of a script that did not lend itself to transliteration. The important exceptions were Sanskrit Buddhist technical terms, many of which were indeed transliterated: *bodhi* (awakening) was rendered as *p'u-t'i* 菩提 , *prajñā* (wisdom) as *po-jo* 般若, *anuttarāsamyaksaṃbodhi* (unexcelled perfect enlightenment) as *a-nou-to-lo-san-miao-san-p'u-t'i* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, and so on. However, the profusion of Buddhist transliterations was not due to a sense that these terms resisted translation; many of them were regularly glossed using vernacular "equivalents."[32] Rather, the use of transliteration was connected with the belief that the original Sanskrit sounds were more than arbitrary signifiers. The original sounds of sacred Sanskrit words and phrases were believed to possess a certain mantric potency arising from their natural affinity, or even metaphysical identity, with the things they signified. This notion had analogues, if not precedents, in non-Buddhist Chinese writings, where it was used to explain the power of apotropaic spells and incantations.[33] One should not, therefore, place too much stock in the ability of transliterations to preserve a sense of the alterity of the original Sanskrit.

Thus, while the proliferation of Indic transliterations may well have reinforced belief in the preternatural efficacy of Buddhist ritual and liturgy, it does not in itself testify to the Chinese appreciation of cultural difference. All told, the Chinese showed remarkably little interest in the study of Sanskrit or any other foreign language (Harbsmeier 1998:82–84), and there is evidence that Chinese Buddhists frequently failed to grasp the linguistic and hermeneutic challenges that faced them. Robert van Gulik found that in China, as in Japan, the ability to read and write the Indian Siddham script was regularly mistaken for mastery of Sanskrit proper and that many of the East Asian clerics renowned for their proficiency in Sanskrit had little if any command over the grammar, or even the lexicon, of any Indic language. It might appear incredible that the Chinese should so confuse language and script until one reflects on the nature of Chinese orthography: one cannot read the Chinese script aloud without actually knowing the

language.[34] Whatever lay behind the confusion, it would appear that the educated Chinese elite, not to mention the unlettered masses, remained largely ignorant of the vast linguistic and conceptual divide that separated them from the world of Indian Buddhism.

Local Knowledge

I have argued that it is historically and hermeneutically misleading to conceive of the sinification of Buddhism in terms of a dialogue between two discrete cultural traditions. On the one hand, “dialogue” is an inappropriate metaphor for a conversation that was, in many respects, one-sided. On the other hand, the silent partner in the purported encounter, Buddhism, tends to be construed in ahistorical and essentialized terms that compromise its descriptive value and analytic leverage.

These seemingly abstract hermeneutic issues have concrete ramifications for the way scholars frame, conceptualize, and represent Chinese religious phenomena. Categories do matter: our identification of a text, doctrine, image, or rite as Indian or Chinese, Buddhist or Taoist, Tantric or Ch’an orients our approach to the material, predisposing us to one set of readings while foreclosing others. It behooves us to reflect on the premises and entailments of such identifications.

Take, for example, the identification of the earliest so-called Buddhist images in China, examined in a seminal article by Wu Hung (1986). These include the buddha-like images found on Han bronze mirrors studied by Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, the “buddha figure” discovered in the first chamber of a Han tomb at Ma-hao 麻壕 (Szechwan) by Richard Edwards in 1949, figures on a clay stand from P’eng-shan 彭山 (Szechwan), a tombstone from T’eng-hsien 滕縣 (Shan-tung), and so on. On the basis of their iconographic features, such images had been heralded as the earliest extant examples of Buddhist art in China.

There is little doubt that the iconography of these images was influenced by Indian prototypes: they display features such as the *uṣṇīṣa*-like protuberance on the head, the *abhayamudrā*, and so on. However, Wu Hung argues that our identifications of the images should not be based on surface morphological characteristics, but rather on whether or not such works were intended to “propagate Buddhist ideas or serve in Buddhist ritual or institutional practices.”

In short, one must "pay attention to the function of the works, and to the cultural tradition and the social context in which they were created" (Wu Hung 1986:264).

There is considerable evidence that in the Eastern Han the Buddha was worshiped as a foreign god of imposing visage possessing supernatural powers. But, according to Wu Hung, while the foreign origins of this buddha-god may have been appreciated, he was nonetheless thought of and worshiped as a member of the indigenous pantheon. A careful examination of the sites in which the early examples of Buddhist imagery are found invariably reveal a connection with local cults that are now often subsumed under the category "religious Taoism." Specifically, the Buddha was associated with Tung Wang-kung 東王公, Hsi Wang-mu 西王母, and other deities who inhabit the realm west of Kunlun and possess the elixir of immortality.[35] In each case Wu Hung fails to find evidence of an "inherently Buddhist content, or Buddhist religious function.... In fact, these works cannot even be seen as reflecting a fusion of Buddhism and the Chinese tradition. They only reflect a random borrowing of Buddhist elements by Han popular art" (1986:273). As there is no evidence of familiarity with Buddhist concepts or doctrine, Wu Hung concludes that these isolated Indian motifs should not be construed as evidence of "Buddhism" per se. "Instead of proclaiming these carvings to be the earliest Buddhist art in China, therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that they are the earliest examples of Taoist art" (1986:303).

Wu Hung's point is well taken, yet his analysis may be compromised by his suggestion that the images be reidentified as "Taoist": there is little evidence that the worshipers of said images would have placed either the images or themselves under such a rubric. Rather, the inertia of well-ingrained scholarly habit is reflected in the need, in the face of singular and indeterminate complexity, to resort to convenient markers of dubious historical or descriptive value.

Nevertheless, Wu Hung's reconstruction of the ritual context of these late Han images is significant. For one thing, it forces scholars of Buddhism to revisit the well-known accounts of the Buddha being worshiped along with Lao-tzu and the Yellow Emperor by Liu Ying 劉英, king of Ch'u 楚, in A.D. 65, and Emperor Huan 桓 in 166.[36] These events have been cited as evidence that members of the Chinese elite of the Eastern Han dynasty were both aware of and favorably disposed toward Buddhism. Yet, on reflection, these events may only indicate

that the figure of the Buddha had been incorporated into the local pantheon as a powerful foreign divinity to whom one could make offerings and solicitations.

Again, there is no question as to the iconographic genealogy of these early buddha-like images; their characteristics strongly suggest Indian influence. But this genealogy says little about how they were understood locally. And the same question might be raised concerning many other elements of Indian religion that drifted into China over the course of many centuries, from ritual and liturgical practices to temple architecture, clerical dress, texts, doctrines, modes of exegesis, and the institution of monasticism itself. When it comes to recovering the significance of such phenomena in China, knowledge of their Central or South Asian antecedents, especially when derived from prescriptive sources, may not get us very far. Clearly we require an understanding of local social and institutional structures, cosmology, metaphysics, attitudes toward the spirit realm and the afterlife—in short, the local *episteme*.

A case in point is the phenomenon of modern North American "convert" Buddhism—the Buddhism of Americans who are not of Asian descent. Newcomers to the religion are fortunate to live at a time when travel between America and Asia is relatively painless, when there is ready access to authoritative Asian teachers, when scholars have made significant contributions to an understanding of Buddhist history and doctrine, and when anyone with a credit card can purchase reputable translations and studies of Buddhist texts on the Internet. Should they wish, converts can study classical and vernacular Buddhist languages at one of dozens of universities and colleges that offer such courses. Yet in the midst of such riches, most American converts, including many educated and well-respected Western Buddhist teachers, show little interest in appraising the fidelity of their Buddhist understanding against Asian norms. This is not to say that they are unconcerned with issues of authority; it is just that authority is deemed to lie in the transcendent (ahistorical and transcultural) truth of the teachings rather than in correspondence to Asian archetypes, and this view gives North Americans the freedom to pick and choose. Some go so far as to tout contemporary American Buddhism, with its suspicion of institutional authority, its rejection of ritual and ceremony, its ambivalence toward monasticism, celibacy, and other forms of renunciation, and its singular emphasis on meditation and inner transformation, as a return to the original essence of

Buddhism. Indeed, many American Buddhists see their challenge as extricating this essence from centuries of Asian cultural accretions, and they have little patience for scholars who would question such an enterprise on historical or doctrinal grounds. Accordingly, American Buddhists prefer tracts by modern Western or Westernized Asian teachers to translations of classical texts or scholarly expositions of doctrine. Needless to say, these attitudes do not reflect traditional Buddhist ideals, but rather bespeak deeply ingrained Protestant American attitudes toward religious truth, authority, and institutions. The Zeitgeist is so persuasive and compelling (not to mention lucrative) that many Asian Buddhist missionaries have, consciously or otherwise, assimilated Western religious attitudes, thereby becoming complicit in the American reinvention of Buddhism.[37]

It is clear, I think, that the metaphor of "dialogue" is inadequate, if not misleading, for such complex historical processes. The North American example is a reminder that even if T'ang Buddhists did have sustained access to "unadulterated" Indian masters, texts, and teachings, it might not have made much difference. (Ch'an, for one, was founded on an ideology that rationalized the selective rejection of Indian authority.) And like modern Asian missionaries to the West, the Indian and Central Asian masters who did propagate Buddhism in China might have functioned not as bastions of Indian orthodoxy, but rather as witting or unwitting accomplices in the Chinese domestication of their tradition.[38]

I have no ready alternative to the prevailing paradigms for modeling sinification. The complexity of the linguistic, social, institutional, and conceptual interactions between culturally and linguistically diverse peoples spread over a vast region and lasting over many centuries thwarts the desire for a single comprehensive account. But nor will it do to remain at the level of isolated historical singularities. Scholars are obliged to aver to *some* synoptic categories, overarching narratives, salient metaphors and analogies, lest we abrogate altogether our responsibility to render the past meaningful.

Perhaps we might draw a lesson from the biological and evolutionary sciences. The classical taxonomic enterprise, which attempted to discover the order that lay behind the diversity of biological life forms, took recourse in static taxonomic categories and concepts—families, genera, species, differentiae, and so on. Scientists eventually came to recognize that attempts to represent the development of and natural relationships between manifold life forms in terms of such reified

categories failed to capture adequately the dynamic complexity and structural disequilibrium of evolving biological systems. It is not only that the gene pool is in perpetual flux, but so too are the environmental "niches" in which the heterogeneous "agents" are embedded, rendering the description of the system in terms of stable interrelationships between autonomous species little more than a heuristic conceit. Yet such complexity cannot be represented without some sort of schema, and for that, taxonomic categories and principles remain indispensable. The challenge, then, is to bear in mind the provisional and heuristic nature of biological taxonomies, revising as one goes.

Similar conceptual problems arise in other disciplines that deal with dynamic and adaptive systems, including sociology, economics, cognitive science, geophysics, immunology, ecology, and so on. In each case researchers are confronted with interactive networks of mind-boggling complexity. Attempts to conceptualize such complexity in a nonreductive manner have given rise to notions such as self-organization and self-regulation, emergent properties, nonlinear systems, and evolutionary drift.[39] It may turn out that a complex-systems approach will prove of value to scholars of cultural and historical processes as well.[40] At the very least, it is a reminder that the tidy schemas we create, the stories we tell, are little more than edifying fictions that serve to forestall an intellectually paralyzing aporia.

This book is a modest attempt to apply some of the hermeneutic principles described above to the study of a single, somewhat obscure, nominally Buddhist, T'ang dynasty text, the *Treasure Store Treatise*. This short, metaphysically oriented treatise is divided into three chapters of equal length: "The Broad Illumination of Emptiness and Being," "The Essential Purity of Transcendence and Subtlety," and "The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis." The terminology of the chapter titles bespeaks the somewhat rarefied and "mystical" tone of the work. Yet the treatise touches on a broad range of subjects, from cosmology and Buddhist dialectic to social theory and ritual practice. The *Treasure Store Treatise* thus provides an opportunity to reexamine a number of doctrines and themes central to T'ang Buddhist thought. In the course of my analysis, I shall argue that seminal Buddhist notions bearing on everything from abstract conceptions of buddhahood to the ritual veneration of images were entrenched in an understanding of the world that was, for lack of a better word, Chinese. Once one begins to tease out the underlying *Weltanschauung*, the *Treasure Store Trea-*

tise ceases to appear as a muddled or syncretic concoction, but reveals itself to be a rather coherent and, in some respects, elegantly crafted essay. It is also representative of certain important trends in eighth-century Buddhist thought and literature that would later come to be identified with Ch'an.

Chapter 1 of this study opens with an introduction to the *Treasure Store Treatise*, focusing on questions of date and authorship as well as literary provenance. It includes a review of previous philological studies of the treatise by Japanese scholars, notably the work of Kamata Shigeo, who placed the composition of the text in the region of southeastern China in the latter part of the eighth century. The question of intellectual provenance turns out to be quite complex. The terminology and literary style of the *Treasure Store Treatise* have much in common with texts associated with early Ch'an, particularly the Niu-t'ou 牛頭, or "Ox Head," tradition. The *Treasure Store Treatise* also shares much in the way of vocabulary and rhetorical style with the Taoist exegetical tradition known as *ch'ung-hsüan* 重玄, or "Twofold Mystery." This little-studied literary tradition has been represented in some modern Japanese and Western accounts as a full-fledged Taoist sect that flourished in the Sui and T'ang. The similarities between the *Treasure Store Treatise* and Twofold Mystery Taoism necessitate a close examination of the actual historical status of the authors and texts associated with this purported Taoist school. I demonstrate that the Japanese reconstruction of a Twofold Mystery sect or lineage is founded on a misreading of the historical record and is symptomatic of the tendency to interpret Chinese religious history in terms of discrete schools and sects.

I turn in Chapter 2 to a complex of early Chinese cosmological and metaphysical notions often subsumed under the rubric of "correlative thought." Specifically, I focus on the notion of "sympathetic resonance" (*kan-ying* 感應), looking at how this fundamental metaphysical postulate structured the indigenous understanding of ritual, sagehood, and moral retribution. I go on to demonstrate that this same complex of ideas broadly informed the Chinese understanding of Buddhist thought and practice, including the doctrine of multiple buddha-bodies (notably the indigenous Chinese notion of the *ying-shen* 應身, or "resonant-body"), the understanding of the Buddhist sage, the ritual invocation of Buddhist deities, and the venerable doctrine of causation and codependent origination. In each case these classical "Buddhist" tenets were understood, explicitly or implicitly,

in the light of native presuppositions concerning the nature and structure of the cosmos.

Part 2 of this study consists of an annotated translation of the three chapters of the *Treasure Store Treatise.* Each chapter of my translation is preceded by an extended discussion of key terminology, including "treasure store" (*pao-tsang* 寶藏), "transcendence" (*li* 離), "subtlety" (*wei* 微), and "point of genesis" (*pen-chi* 本際). Unraveling the textual history and semantic valence of such terms underscores the multiple voices that run through the work, effecting a semantic exuberance that renders the task of translation particularly difficult. In the translation itself I have broken the text into manageable segments, each followed by a discussion of technical terms, issues of doctrine and style, scriptural citations, and so on. (Information concerning the extant recension of the *Treasure Store Treatise* as well as the conventions followed in the translation are explained in detail in the introduction to Part 2.)

Finally, the study includes two appendixes. The first is an analysis of the historical status of Tantric or Vajrayāna Buddhism in China. Corroborating the discussion above and arguments in Chapter 2, the analysis shows that there is little evidence that a Tantric school or lineage ever existed in medieval China. The notion emerged from Japanese sectarian historiography, reinforced by a modern interest in insulating Buddhism "proper" from a variety of esoteric ritual and thaumaturgical practices with which it was associated. The second appendix is a reference list of scriptural quotations found scattered throughout the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

Part 1

The Historical and Cosmological Background

1

The Date and Provenance of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

The *Treasure Store Treatise* (*Pao-tsang lun*) is a short work, comprising a little less than seven pages in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon.[1] The treatise is attributed to the early-fifth-century Mādhyamika exegete and disciple of Kumārajīva, Seng-chao (374–414), and the attribution appears to have gone unquestioned until the first half of the twentieth century.[2]

Seng-chao's Death Verse

As there are a number of studies of Seng-chao now available, a brief sketch of his life will suffice here.[3] According to the *Kao-seng chuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), Seng-chao was born to a poor family in Ching-chao 京兆 (near Ch'ang-an) in 374, and he learned the classics at an early age while working as a copyist.[4] At first he was drawn to the works of Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu and the study of the "mysterious and subtle" (*hsüan-wei* 玄微), but upon reading the Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (fl. 250) translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra,* he turned his energies to Buddhism. According to his biographers, he quickly mastered both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna scriptural corpora.

Sometime after his conversion to Buddhism, Seng-chao traveled to Ku-tsang 姑藏 to study under the Kuchean Mādhyamika exegete and translator Kumārajīva (350–ca.409).[5] With the capture of Liang-chou by Yao Hsing 姚興 (r. 394–416) of the Later Ch'in in 401, Seng-chao accompanied his teacher back to Ch'ang-an, where he gained prominence as one of Kumārajīva's chief disciples. In addition to assisting Kumārajīva with his translations, Seng-chao composed his own works on Buddhist philosophy, which earned his master's praise. Seng-chao's writings, notably his commentary to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*[6] and the four

essays known collectively as the *Chao lun* 肇論 (Treatises of Chao, T. 1858) were to exert considerable influence in the development of Chinese Buddhist thought. As for his death, the early biographies mention only that "in the tenth year of the *i-hsi* period (414), he died in Ch'ang-an at the age of thirty-one."[7]

Later Ch'an materials state that Seng-chao was executed for some unspecified transgression, possibly at the behest of the court. One of the earliest versions of this legend appears in the Sung compilation *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 景徳傳燈録 (Ching-te Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp) of 1004:

> Dharma Master Seng-chao encountered the difficulties surrounding the Ch'in ruler.[8] As he was about to be executed, he uttered the following verse:
>
> The four elements originally have no master,
> The five aggregates [that compose the self] are
> fundamentally void.
> The naked blade approaches my neck,
> As if cleaving through the spring breeze.[9]

A slightly later Ch'an *kung-an* (public case) collection, the *Pi-yen lu* (Blue Cliff Record, compiled in 1128), makes an explicit connection between Seng-chao's execution and the composition of the *Treasure Store Treatise.* The central *kung-an* of case 62 consists of a short passage from the *Treasure Store Treatise* presented by the T'ang master Yün-men (864–949) to his congregation. This passage is followed by the compiler's commentary to the case, which reads in part as follows:

> Yün-men said: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain" [*Treasure Store Treatise* 145b23–24]. Now tell me, is Yün-men's meaning in the tip of the fishing pole, or does the meaning lie on top of the lamp? These several lines are taken from the *Treasure Store Treatise* of Dharma Master [Seng-]chao. Yün-men cited them in order to instruct his community. Seng-chao lived during the Later Ch'in and composed his treatise in the Garden of Ease and Freedom 逍遥園. In copying the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra,* he came to understand that Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu had still not exhausted the sublime. Seng-chao then paid obeisance to Kumārajīva as his teacher. He also called on the bodhisattva Buddhabhadra at the Temple of the Tile Coffin 瓦棺寺, who had come from India to transmit the mind-seal of the twenty-seventh patriarch. Seng-chao entered deeply into the inner sanctum. One day Seng-chao ran into trouble. When he was about to be executed, he begged for seven days' reprieve, during which time he composed the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

> So Yün-men cited these four lines from that treatise in order to instruct his community. The main idea is "How can you take a priceless treasure and conceal it within the realm of the aggregates?" The words spoken in the treatise all accord with the sayings of our school.[10]

This later legend greatly enhances the status of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Bravely facing his own imminent death, Seng-chao requests time to brush his final teachings. The *Treasure Store Treatise* has been rendered a "death verse"—a concise literary testament to one's enlightenment produced in the emotionally and soteriologically charged circumstances of impending death. In the *Pi-yen lu* passage, the *Treasure Store Treatise* actually replaces the more traditional four-line death verse recorded in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. And should there be any lingering doubts among Ch'an adepts as to Seng-chao's authority, the *Pi-yen lu* assures the reader that the *Treasure Store Treatise* is perfectly in accord with Ch'an teachings.

The Date of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

The *Treasure Store Treatise* itself is not mentioned in any of the early biographies of Seng-chao, and there are no clues as to the origins of the tale linking its composition to Seng-chao's supposed execution. T'ang Yung-t'ung was the first modern scholar to cast doubt on the authorship of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, suggesting dating it to the T'ang period (T'ang 1955:332–333). T'ang notes that the *Treasure Store Treatise* does not appear in any of the early catalogues of Buddhist scriptures, and it is not until the Sung that the *Treasure Store Treatise* is included in a biographical section of a dynastic history.[11] (There existed a later alchemical manual with the same title, but this text should not be confused with the work attributed to Seng-chao.)[12] Furthermore, T'ang notes that the vocabulary of the *Treasure Store Treatise* includes items closely associated with T'ang dynasty Ch'an, and he reports seeing a Ming woodblock edition of the *Treasure Store Treatise* dated 1504 that included a preface by the T'ang dynasty monk Huai-hui 懷暉 (754–815), a disciple of Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 (709–788) and a resident of the Chang-ching ssu 章敬寺 in Ch'ang-an.[13]

T'ang's findings have since been supplemented by a number of Japanese scholars, including Tsukamoto Zenryū, Makita Tairyō, and Mizuno Kōgen.[14] They found that the first extant catalogue to include the *Treasure Store Treatise* was the record of scriptures brought back to Japan by Enchin 圓珍 in 857. Enchin's catalogue does not include

the names of authors except where such names have been incorporated into the title of the work. However, the fact that Enchin lists the *Treasure Store Treatise* immediately following the *Chao lun* and the *Chao-lun wen-chü* 肇論文句 strongly suggests that the text had already come to be associated with Seng-chao.[15] The next catalogue in which the text appears is the *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄, a record of scriptures brought back to Japan in 1094 by Eichō 永超.[16] One hand-copied manuscript edition of this catalogue contains a gloss attributing the *Treasure Store Treatise* to Seng-chao.[17] But the first catalogue that unambiguously links Seng-chao to the *Treasure Store Treatise* is that compiled by the Korean Ŭich'ŏn 義天 published in 1101.[18]

However, one need not rely on these catalogue references to establish a terminus ad quem for the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The text is quoted several times by Tsung-mi (780–841) in works dating to the first half of the ninth century. According of the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* 禪源諸詮集都序 (commonly known in English as the *Ch'an Preface*), which dates to shortly after 833:

> The *Treasure Store Treatise* says: "To know existence is to be ruined by existence, and to know nonexistence is to be defeated by nonexistence." (These refer to the ability to know existence and nonexistence.) "The knowing that is true knowing does not make any distinction between existence and nonexistence." (Since they do not distinguish between existence and nonexistence, this is in fact nondiscriminative knowledge of own-being.) 寶藏論亦云：知有有壞、知無無敗（此皆能知有無之智）眞知之知、有無不計（既不計有無即自性無分別之知）.[19]

Tsung-mi's *Ch'an Preface* does not explicitly mention Seng-chao in connection with the *Treasure Store Treatise*, but in one of his commentaries to the *Yüan-chüeh ching* 圓覺經 (Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra), the *Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i-ching lüeh-shu chu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏註, one reads: "Chao-kung [i.e., Seng-chao] said: 'The dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form; true wisdom remains concealed within discursive thought.'"[20] This passage is found neither in the *Chao-lun* nor in any other extant work by Seng-chao but is rather an abbreviated quotation from chapter 2 of the *Treasure Store Treatise* (147b26–28). Moreover, Tsung-mi quotes from the *Treasure Store Treatise* in both the *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao* 圓覺經大疏鈔 and the *Yüan-chüeh-ching lüeh-ch'ao* 圓覺經略鈔, and in each case he attributes the passages to Seng-chao.[21] Tsung-mi evidently associated the *Treasure Store Treatise* with Seng-chao by at least the mid 820s.

Further evidence for the late date of the *Treasure Store Treatise* comes from an analysis of the citations and vocabulary found within the text itself. One confirmation that the text could not have been composed by Seng-chao is a quotation taken from the *Fa-chü ching* 法句經, an apocryphal scripture recovered at Tun-huang that dates to the mid-seventh century.[22] The *Treasure Store Treatise* cites the *Fa-chü ching* in chapter 3: "Therefore the scripture says: 'The dense phenomenal array and the myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma'" 故經云：森羅及萬象一法之所印 (148c1–2). This pericope is found in a variety of T'ang dynasty Ch'an-related documents, and its presence in the *Treasure Store Treatise* establishes a preliminary terminus a quo of mid-seventh century, roughly 250 years after the death of Seng-chao.[23] Mizuno argues that the sūtras quoted in the *Treasure Store Treatise* are all from translations that predate those of Hsüan-tsang (ca. 600–664) and reasons that the *Treasure Store Treatise* must have been composed before the availability of Hsüan-tsang's translations but after the composition of the apocryphal *Fa-chü ching*. This would place the composition of the *Treasure Store Treatise* just about halfway through the seventh century (Mizuno 1961a:24).

Kamata Shigeo was drawn to the *Treasure Store Treatise* in the course of his study of Hua-yen history and thought; he viewed the *Treasure Store Treatise* as typical of the kind of synthesis of Mādhyamika, Taoism, and Ch'an that characterized Tsung-mi's intellectual milieu.[24] Kamata wondered why the *Treasure Store Treatise* is never mentioned or quoted by Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (738–839), the prodigious Hua-yen exegete and teacher of Tsung-mi.[25] This omission is striking both because Ch'eng-kuan often turns to Seng-chao (his works are filled with copious quotes from the *Chao lun*) and because Tsung-mi, his close disciple, quotes from both the *Chao lun* and the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Given 815 as a terminus ad quem based on T'ang Yung-t'ung's report of the Huai-hui preface, it would seem that the *Treasure Store Treatise* could not have appeared much earlier than the late eighth century.

Kamata is able to substantiate this surmise through a careful examination of the scriptural sources for quotations found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Kamata successfully identifies a number of the quotations, including seven from Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, one from his translation of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedikā*), and one from his translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*). The key to Kamata's dating of the text, however, turns out to be a single character in a quotation that can be

traced to the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra.* The passage in the *Treasure Store Treatise* runs as follows: "The mind is like a dancer and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses are their companions, and deluded thought observes this troupe of performers" 故經云：心如工伎兒、意如和伎者。五識爲伴侶、妄想觀伎衆 (149b1–2). There are three extant Chinese translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra,* listed here along with their rendering of the passage in question:

1. The four-fascicle version translated by Guṇabhadra of the Former Sung in 443: 心爲工伎兒意如和伎者五識爲伴侶妄想觀伎衆.
2. The ten-fascicle version translated by Bodhiruci of the Northern Wei in 513: 心如巧伎兒意如狡猾者意識及五識虛妄取境界如伎兒和合誑惑於凡夫.
3. The seven-fascicle version by Śikṣānanda of the T'ang translated between 700 and 704: 心如工伎兒意如和伎者五識爲伴侶妄想觀伎衆.[26]

Śikṣānanda's translation is the only precise match for the quotation in the *Treasure Store Treatise,* which, Kamata suggests, is sufficient to establish 704 as the terminus a quo for the work. Taken alone, this match may not appear definitive, as the difference between the Guṇabhadra and Śikṣānanda versions is but a single character (the former reads *wei* 爲 where the latter has *ju* 如), a variance that bears virtually no semantic impact. But Kamata marshals considerable supplementary evidence before concluding that the *Treasure Store Treatise* dates to the last quarter of the eighth century. First he notes that the text is not included in the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* 開元釋教録 (T.2154), which was completed in 730, nor is it mentioned or quoted in the *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh* 止觀輔行傳弘決 (T.1912) or other works by Chan-jan 湛然 (711–782), who otherwise draws liberally from Seng-chao. Finally, as was noted above, there is no indication that Ch'eng-kuan was familiar with the *Treasure Store Treatise,* which would be odd if the text were already in circulation in his time. But Kamata's reasoning on this last point is valid only insofar as the *Treasure Store Treatise* was associated with the name of Seng-chao from the time of its composition.

This brings me to the issue of the attribution itself: did the author of the *Treasure Store Treatise* originally affix Seng-chao's name to the treatise, or was the attribution made later on? One can do little more than speculate. Citations in the works of Tsung-mi—the earliest extant references to the *Treasure Store Treatise*—suggest that the text was associated with Seng-chao in the 820s. There is also some indication that the author of the *Treasure Store Treatise* consciously avoided ter-

minology characteristic of eighth-century Buddhism. Sūtra quotations in the *Treasure Store Treatise* are drawn primarily from the translations of Kumārajīva, rather than from those of Hsüan-tsang, although this may simply bespeak the high regard in which Kumārajīva's work was held even after the later and more philologically "accurate" translations by Hsüan-tsang became available.[27] And, as mentioned above, the *Treasure Store Treatise* shows no evidence of the technical terminology characteristic of post-Hsüan-tsang scholasticism, but again this may merely indicate that the author of the text was not versed in scholastic materials or that the *Treasure Store Treatise* originated in the provinces where Hsüan-tsang's translations had less of an impact. Finally, the content of the *Treasure Store Treatise,* as will become apparent in the translation, is not unlike that which would be expected in a treatise by Seng-chao. Indeed, the authenticity of the text does not appear to have been questioned until the work of T'ang Yung-t'ung in the 1930s. Intentional or not, the author styled the *Treasure Store Treatise* so that it could have passed in its own time as a composition of the early fifth century.

There is no doubt that the attribution to Seng-chao, however it came about, would have bolstered the text's standing in the eighth and ninth centuries. Seng-chao's work remained popular among Buddhist exegetes well into the Sui and T'ang. As one of Kumārajīva's most eminent disciples, Seng-chao was associated with San-lun, an exegetical tradition that experienced a revival in the sixth and seventh centuries owing to the efforts of Fa-lang 法朗 (507–581) and Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549–623). In the Sui and T'ang periods the exegetical interests of Buddhist scholiasts shifted from Indian treatises such as the Ti-lun (*Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*), She-lun (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*), and various San-lun texts, to Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* giving rise to what later became known as the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen traditions. Yet Seng-chao's celebrity continued, in part because of the manner in which he recast Buddhist thought in an idiom familiar to and esteemed by educated Chinese. Seng-chao's essays were more than mere explications of Indian Buddhist thought; they were refined specimens of Chinese philosophical prose in their own right. The essays incorporated not only the terminology, but also the dense poetic texture and literary sophistication of the Taoist classics that appealed to generations of Chinese cognoscenti irrespective of their philosophical leanings.

There is abundant evidence of Seng-chao's continued importance in T'ang Buddhist literary circles. The *Chao lun* was itself the subject of a number of commentaries dating to the late sixth and seventh centuries, including those by Hui-ta 慧達,[28] the San-lun monk Yüan-k'ang 元康 (ca. 627–650),[29] and Hui-cheng 慧證.[30] This latter commentary is one of four works on the *Chao lun* brought back to Japan by the pilgrim Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) in 847.[31] Hui-cheng, who authored two of the works accompanying Ennin, is associated with the monastic community at Ox Head Mountain (Niu-t'ou-shan 牛頭山), while a third work emerged from the Buddhist center at East Mountain (Tung-shan 東山). Both communities were important in the emergence of Ch'an, and as Ch'an developed, its patriarchs would continue to quote copiously from Seng-chao's writings. Seng-chao's influence is also evident in works associated with T'ang dynasty Hua-yen, as documented by Kamata in his study of Ch'eng-kuan.[32] Finally, the influence of the *Chao lun* can be detected in a number of apocryphal scriptures dating to the late Sui and early T'ang, including the *Chiu-ching ta-pei ching* 究竟大悲經 (Scripture on Ultimate Great Compassion).[33]

In addition to the *Chao lun*, Seng-chao's commentary to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* continued to be read throughout the medieval period, and virtually every major surviving commentary to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* from the medieval period shows the influence of Seng-chao's work.[34] Among the manuscripts recovered from Tun-huang are also found two commentaries on Seng-chao's preface to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*.[35]

The *Treasure Store Treatise* is suffused with Ch'an and Hua-yen terminology; such terminology is what led modern scholars to doubt the attribution to Seng-chao in the first place. Nonetheless, this attribution seems to have been accepted without question shortly after the text appeared. Given Seng-chao's preeminence in the late eighth century, the association with Seng-chao would have elevated the text's stature, particularly in Ch'an circles. At the same time it would have enabled Ch'an and Hua-yen exegetes to legitimize their doctrinal innovations by finding clear antecedents in the work of Kumārajīva's great disciple.

One must remember, however, that in China, as in India, to ascribe a Buddhist text "falsely" to an illustrious exegete or saint did not necessary entail a malicious intent to deceive. Scholars tend to view false attribution in ethical and legal terms, as dishonest, duplicitous, or fraudulent. Such texts are often branded "apocryphal" at best, "forg-

eries" or "fakes" at worst. Yet at the same time we acknowledge that there is not a single Buddhist scripture that can, with confidence, be dated to within even a century of the Buddha's demise. The earliest extant sūtras stand at the end, not the beginning, of a complex historical process, and they bear the imprint of multiple authors and editors. Scholars have now largely and prudently abandoned efforts to reconstruct the teachings of the "historical Buddha" on the basis of the scriptural record. Moreover, the questionable provenance of the Mahāyāna corpus was recognized and tacitly acknowledged by not a few early exegetes, including some of the authors of the Mahāyāna sūtras.[36] It would appear that in ancient India and medieval China to frame a scripture as the word of the Buddha or to ascribe an expository treatise spuriously to an enlightened patriarch is to invoke a narrative trope that speaks to the authority of the text and the veracity of the teachings promulgated therein. This is not to say that authenticity was not an issue; the question of a text's origin and provenance was a matter of considerable concern to Buddhist bibliographers, who felt compelled to identify and expurgate apocrypha from the canon. But, as Kyoko Tokuno notes, the obsessions of the bibliographers were not necessarily shared by the clerical elite, who largely ignored the dubious origins of texts they found useful.[37] Thus a text's authenticity was not merely a function of its authorship; rather authorship was itself a function of the text's authenticity.[38] The attribution to Seng-chao would, in this view, be claiming only that the *Treasure Store Treatise*, patently composed in the style of the *Chao lun*, is sanctioned by the proxy of inspiration.[39]

The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

Kamata, the only scholar to have attempted to circumscribe the polemic context out of which the *Treasure Store Treatise* arose, suggests that it originated in the area of Mao-shan (Kiangsu) within a Ch'an community associated with the Niu-t'ou, or "Ox Head," lineage of Ch'an (1965:385–398). First, he notes that the *Treasure Store Treatise* is replete with Taoist terminology, and Mao-shan (or Shang-ch'ing 上清) Taoism was the dominant Taoist tradition during the first centuries of the T'ang. The *Treasure Store Treatise* also shares terminology with the *Chüeh-kuan lun* 絶觀論 (Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition), which Kamata, following current research at the time, believed was authored by Niu-t'ou Fa-jung 牛頭法融 (594–657), the purported first

patriarch of the Ox Head lineage.[40] In addition, the *Treasure Store Treatise* is replete with San-lun-style rhetorical formulations characteristic of Ox Head doctrine. This important early Ch'an lineage was centered in the Mao-shan region of southeast China.

It is indeed possible that the text originated in the southeast provinces, and the *Treasure Store Treatise* does closely resemble works associated with Ox Head Ch'an. I have not, however, found any clear evidence of Mao-shan influence; the work is, for the most part, free of technical Shang-ch'ing terminology. As I will demonstrate below, the Taoist tradition most visible in the background of the *Treasure Store Treatise* is not that of Mao-shan but rather the exegetical tradition now known as *ch'ung-hsüan*, or "Twofold Mystery." Even a cursory familiarity with the relevant texts reveals a host of striking terminological and stylistic similarities between the *Treasure Store Treatise* and Twofold Mystery works. In order to gauge the nature of this influence, I will examine the status of the so-called Twofold Mystery school in medieval China. But first, I will give a brief overview of the Ox Head tradition and the affinities between known Ox Head works and the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

Ox Head Ch'an and the *Chüeh-kuan lun*

Both Sekiguchi Shindai and Kamata Shigeo have drawn attention to stylistic and doctrinal similarities between the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and the *Treasure Store Treatise.* Sekiguchi, following earlier studies by Kuno Hōryū and Ui Hakuju, disputed the attribution of the *Chüeh-kuan lun* to Bodhidharma (an attribution maintained by D. T. Suzuki) and argued instead that the author was Niu-t'ou Fa-jung.[41] More recent studies indicate that the *Chüeh-kuan lun* is probably the work of a later Ox Head figure working in the last quarter of the eighth century. Nonetheless, this text, known only through Tun-huang manuscripts, remains the most important surviving doctrinal record of the teachings of the Ox Head line. This long-forgotten lineage is now recognized, thanks to the studies of Sekiguchi, Yanagida Seizan, and John McRae, to have played a central role in the early development of Ch'an.

Ox Head Ch'an traced itself to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, who is purported to have received transmission from the fourth Ch'an patriarch Tao-hsin 道信 (580–651).[42] However, while Fa-jung can be linked with the San-lun tradition, it is highly unlikely that he conceived of himself as

affiliated with any Ch'an lineage whatsoever, not to mention Ox Head. In fact, the Ox Head school, which took its name from Fa-jung's residence on Mount Niu-t'ou,[43] did not come to conceive of itself as a separate lineage until the time of its "fifth patriarch" Chih-wei 智威 (646–722). The notion of an Ox Head line appears to have emerged in the early eighth century under the direct influence of and in response to the Northern tradition of Shen-hsiu 神秀 (605?–706; McRae 1983:179–180).

It is historically misleading to conceive of the Ox Head school, or the Northern and Southern schools for that matter, as an independent institutional entity. Rather, the rhetoric of competing spiritually enfranchised lineages (*tsung* 宗), which appears around the time of the early lamp histories and the records of Ho-tse Shen-hui 荷澤神會 (684–758), is better viewed as an ideological tool wielded in the interests of a new Buddhist hermeneutic—the sudden teaching, mind-to-mind transmission, and so on—that was both controversial and potentially destabilizing.[44] There is, in other words, no evidence that monks associated with Ox Head Ch'an saw themselves as constituting a discrete or autonomous faction; in McRae's words, they were, rather, a "loose fellowship" bound by a shared religious ideal.[45]

While the claims made in the late eighth century with respect to an unbroken Ox Head transmission are historically dubious, they are ideologically significant, insofar as the Ox Head lineage was construed as a transmission independent of both the Northern and Southern lines (McRae 1983:195–204). Ox Head masters were strongly influenced by the San-lun thought prominent in the Buddhism of the Southeast. Teachers associated with Ox Head Ch'an appear to have been most active in the second half of the eighth century—the same period that saw the composition of the *Treasure Store Treatise*—and they were by no means confined to Mount Niu-t'ou but were spread throughout the Southeast. At least one teacher associated with this school, Fo-k'u I-tse 佛窟遺則 (751–830), was in residence on Mount T'ien-t'ai; it is said that his teaching rivaled that of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i 天台智顗 (538–597), although little corroborating evidence is available.[46] The fame of the Ox Head line spread to the capital as well, and one of the patriarchs, Ching-shan Fa-ch'in 徑山法欽 (714–792), became prominent at the court of T'ai-tsung and may have been the bridge to the lines of Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700–790).[47] The Ox Head line may also have played a more significant role in the evolution of "classical" Ch'an than acknowledged by the later

tradition: Yanagida has suggested that it was an Ox Head monk, Fa-hai 法海, who was responsible for the compilation of the *Platform Sūtra*.[48] There is also a suspicion, again advanced by Yanagida, that Ox Head Ch'an served as the link between the main current of early Ch'an—the derided Northern lineage—and the Hung-chou 洪洲 school of Ma-tsu Tao-i, which supposedly gave rise to the so-called golden age of Chinese Ch'an.

As mentioned above, the *Chüeh-kuan lun* is the single most extensive surviving document associated with Ox Head Ch'an. The title of this short treatise is, at first glance, puzzling, particularly if *kuan* is taken to stand for *vipaśyanā,* or liberating insight into reality. However, McRae notes that the earliest known use of the term "*chüeh-kuan*" 絶觀 is found in the *Ta-sheng hsüan lun* 大乘玄論 by Chi-tsang and that in this context *kuan* does not denote any specific contemplation practice or insight but rather the "function of perceptual cognition in general."[49] McRae concludes that the title of this text should be translated not as the *Treatise on the Eradication of Contemplation* but instead as the *Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition*.[50]

The text of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*—structured as a dialogue between Master Attainment (*ju-li* 入理) and his disciple Gateway (*yüan-men* 縁門)—is characteristic of the more apophatic tendencies in Mahāyāna exemplified by Mādhyamika and San-lun rhetorical strategies. Master Attainment, the embodiment of wisdom, refuses to countenance a specific practice or even a goal. Instead he repeatedly turns his interlocutor's questions back on themselves. McRae comments that the point "is not that there was no positive goal to be reached, but that the discrimination or conceptualization of goals, techniques, and moral standards was absolutely rejected. This is no different from the most fundamental message of the *Prajñāpāramitā* or *Perfection of Wisdom* texts: that one should practice the bodhisattva path, but never perceive there to be any path or any person practicing it" (1983:216–217).

If the *Chüeh-kuan lun* can be said to reproduce, in a more sinitic mode, *prajñāpāramitā* dialectic, it does so in part by emulating the dialogical style of the latter. The dialogical style, exemplified by the exchanges between Subhūti and Śāriputra in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā,* for example, or Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra,* is particularly suited to the apophatic mode, as it mitigates the need to articulate a coherent or determinate philosophical position: the master merely exposes the confusions entailed in or engendered by the

questions posed. This structure is implicit in the narrative frame of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, which opens as follows: "The great way is deep and void, occult and subtle, quiescent and silent. It cannot be grasped with the mind, nor can it be expressed in speech. But we shall posit two persons who together will discuss true reality. The teacher is named Attainment and the student will be called Gateway. As we begin Attainment is calm and without words. Gateway abruptly rises and asks . . ." (1:1). Attainment embodies the "silence of Vimalakīrti," emerging from his quiescence only when called upon. The master is, in effect, a passive resonator: while he himself abjures all philosophical views, he nevertheless responds with skill and compassion to the needs of his student. I shall return to this theme repeatedly below.

The *Treasure Store Treatise* and the *Chüeh-kuan lun*

Digression into the status of Ox Head Ch'an was necessary to understand the significance of similarities in style and lexicon in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, and other works associated with the Ox Head tradition. Sekiguchi, in the course of his comprehensive analysis of the Ox Head school, notes the Taoist terminology that permeates the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and comments on parallels in the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Writing in the fifties, Sekiguchi assumed an early date for the *Treasure Store Treatise* and argued for the attribution of the *Chüeh-kuan lun* to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung. Sekiguchi was thus led to the conclusion that the *Treasure Store Treatise* may well have been the source for the Taoist terminology in the *Chüeh-kuan lun* itself (Sekiguchi 1969a:166). Kamata was also struck by similarities in conception and vocabulary between the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Adopting a much later date for the *Treasure Store Treatise* but accepting the attribution of the *Chüeh-kuan lun* to Fa-jung, Kamata assumed that the direction of influence was the reverse of that suggested by Sekiguchi (Kamata 1965:390). More recent studies by Yanagida and McRae suggest that the *Chüeh-kuan lun* may have been compiled by a later member of the Ox Head school and may date to the third quarter of the eighth century. This dating would make the text roughly contemporaneous with the *Treasure Store Treatise*, rendering the direction of influence (if the influence was direct at all) impossible to determine. But even if the *Chüeh-kuan lun* is a late-eighth-century work, Kamata's point still holds: there is evidence of a connection, direct or otherwise, between the Ox Head line and the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

Most striking is the Taoist terminology that permeates both works. The opening line of the *Chüeh-kuan lun* reads: "The great way is deep and void, occult and subtle, quiescent and silent. It cannot be grasped with the mind, nor can it be expressed in speech" 夫大道冲虛幽微寂莫。不可以心會、不可以言詮 (1:1). In both style and terminology such statements draw heavily upon the *Tao-te ching* and the *Chuang-tzu* and are characteristic of precisely the kind of Twofold Mystery thought found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*. (Cf. *Tao-te ching* 4: "The way is empty" 道冲, and *Chuang-tzu* 13: "Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction—these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue" 夫虛靜恬淡寂漠無爲者、天地之平、而道德之至.)[51]

Kamata also offers numerous examples of turns of phrase shared by both the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The following passage appears in section 14:3 of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, for example: "[The student] asks: 'What is called a dharma? What is called a non-dharma? And what is called neither a dharma nor a non-dharma?' [The teacher] answers: 'If you posit a dharma, it is called a dharma. If you negate a dharma, it is called a non-dharma. Since it cannot be ascertained by either affirmation or negation, it is called neither a dharma nor a non-dharma.'" 問曰：何名爲法、何名爲非法、何名爲非法非非法也。答曰：是法名是法、非法名非法、是非非所量、故名非法非非法. This passage recalls the *Diamond Sūtra* as well as the *Pen-chi ching* 本際經 (Scripture of the Genesis Point) and a host of other Twofold Mystery documents styled on Buddhist literature. Compare the above passage with the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "Therefore, the scripture says: 'The holy realm transcends both nonexistence and non-non-existence and is not something that can be designated or reckoned'" 故經云：聖境界離於非有非無非所稱量 (149b14–15).

Examples of this sort may not be particularly compelling, as similar turns of phrase can be found in a variety of related texts (see below). More striking is the pointed critique of "buddha contemplation" practices (*nien-fo* 念佛), found in both the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the *Chüeh-kuan lun*. The issue was clearly of some significance to the author of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, as seen in an extended passage castigating misguided and superficial interpretations of *nien-fo*:

> Let us suppose a person contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears, or contemplates the *saṃgha* and the *saṃgha* appears. It is actually neither Buddha nor is it not Buddha, and yet it appears as Buddha. Likewise it is neither the *saṃgha* nor is it not the *saṃgha*, and yet it

appears as the *saṃgha*. Why so? It appears because of that person's desire [for such a vision] while contemplating. Such people are unaware that the visions are products of their own minds. (149a21–24)

The *Treasure Store Treatise* insists that, while some practitioners may indeed attain a vision of the Buddha, these visions are mere projections. The true body of the Buddha is the dharma-body, which is empty and nondual, and thus cannot be construed as separate from the one who is construing. The real buddha-body is neither existent nor nonexistent; it is not something that can be seen, much less described:

In their longing to attain buddhahood they contemplate the Buddha, and from the coalescence of causes and conditions, the various attributes of the [Buddha's] body arise, but the dharma-body is neither an attribute nor not an attribute. What does it mean to say it is not an attribute? [It means that] it is originally free of fixed attributes. What does it mean to say it is not not an attribute? [It means that] various attributes do conditionally arise. Therefore, the dharma-body is neither manifest nor not manifest. (149b7–10)

The *Chüeh-kuan lun* is similarly critical of *nien-fo* practices that were directed toward visions of the Buddha in any simple sense:

Question: "If emptiness is [the Buddha], why does the sage not lead living beings to contemplate emptiness rather than having them contemplate the Buddha?" Answer: "Contemplation of the Buddha is taught for the sake of ignorant and simple-minded beings. Should there be a scholar whose mind is set on the Way, then he is taught *to discern the real attribute of* [*his*] *body and to discern the Buddha in like manner.* This real attribute is empty and devoid of attributes." 問曰：若空是者、聖人何不遣衆生念空、而令念佛也。答曰：爲愚癡衆生、教令念佛、若有道心之士、即令觀身實相。觀佛亦然。夫言實相者、即是空無相也. (4.7)

The highlighted portion of this passage from the *Chüeh-kuan lun* turns out to be a direct quotation from the Kumārajīva translation of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*:

At that time the World-Honored One asked Vimalakīrti: You desire to see the Tathāgata, but how do you go about discerning the Tathāgata? Vimalakīrti replied: *Just as I discern the real attributes of my own body, I discern the Buddha in like manner.* I discern that the Tathāgata does not come from the past, nor does he go to the future, nor does he abide in the present. I do not discern [the Tathāgata] in form, nor in the suchness of form, nor in the nature of form. I do not discern [the Tathāgata] in perceptions, conceptions, impulses, or consciousness, nor in the suchness of consciousness, nor in the nature of consciousness. He does not arise with the four elements but is the same as the empty sky.[52]

This same quotation from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra,* which may well have been intended as a critique of early forms of "pure land" practice then circulating in India, is also found in the section of the *Treasure Store Treatise* that discusses *nien-fo* and visions of the Buddha:

> One need only realize the True One within one's own body; what need is there to seek outside? Deeply ponder it both day and night, and the inner mind will realize it of itself. Therefore, the scripture says: "*Discern the real attribute of the body, and discern the Buddha in like manner.*" This real attribute of the body to be discerned is precisely the single attribute, and the single attribute is the attribute of emptiness. As it is empty and devoid of attributes, it is neither defiled nor pure, neither ordinary nor sagely, neither existent nor nonexistent, neither false nor correct. (149c17–21)

Elsewhere I have argued that such assaults on "contemplating the Buddha" do not necessarily constitute evidence of the rejection of *nien-fo* per se. On the contrary, such polemic discussions are frequently found in texts associated with communities in which *nien-fo* was and continued to be a central religious exercise. What is being repudiated is a particular understanding of *nien-fo* that posits the objective existence of a buddha external to the practitioner (Sharf 1997). Here it will suffice to note that the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the *Chüeh-kuan lun* hold similar positions with respect to *nien-fo,* and both advert to the same passage from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* for scriptural support.

Another example occurs in section 13 of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*: "Question: 'Is the great teacher able to transform other living beings or not?' Reply: 'How could there be darkness in the presence of the sun and the moon? How could there be no light when one picks up a lamp?' Question: 'What skillful means does he employ?' Answer: 'He is perfectly direct, without any skillful means.'" Here again the enlightened sage appears as a passive resonator, acting without acting, mediating between heaven and earth. The sage, unencumbered with intentionality, is "perfectly direct"; to borrow the traditional Mahāyāna metaphor, the sage does not point to the moon but rather is the moon. This ideal of the sage—the Yellow Emperor paradigm—underlies later Ch'an monastic ritual, in which the Ch'an abbot ritually engages in "moonlike" behavior. The trope is central to the buddhology of the *Treasure Store Treatise* and as such is the focus of discussion in the following chapter.

Finally, the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and the *Treasure Store Treatise* took a similar stand on a controversial issue that innervated the nascent Ch'an community in the eighth century. The dispute concerned whether or not insentient objects such as trees and rocks possess buddha-nature, an issue that had been brewing for centuries. A passage in chapter 3 of the *Treasure Store Treatise* unambiguously grants buddha-nature to the insentient: "[Buddha-nature] fills everything: it completely suffuses the grass and the trees and fully pervades even the ants. It reaches to even the tiniest mote of dust and to the very tip of a strand of hair; there is nothing that exists that does not embody the One" (148c9–10). Not everyone agreed with this position. Ho-tse Shen-hui is one who argued, on the basis of both scripture and common sense, that it is only meaningful to speak of buddha-nature in relation to sentient beings. But both San-lun and Ox Head monks are on record as supporting the buddha-nature of insentient objects,[53] and the *Chüeh-kuan lun* contains an extended defense of the doctrine. According to the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, since insentient objects lack consciousness, they are free of defiling thoughts of "me" or "mine," and thus they are identical with the Way—that is, they possess buddha-nature. Indeed, the *Chüeh-kuan lun* cites scripture to argue that insentient objects not only possess buddha-nature but actually become buddhas. I will return to this issue and discuss the relevant *Chüeh-kuan lun* passage in greater detail in the translation of chapter 3.

The *Treasure Store Treatise*, the *Treatise on No-Mind*, and the *Inscription on Faith in Mind*

The *Chüeh-kuan lun* is one of a number of early Ch'an-related texts that can be grouped together on the basis of literary form, technical lexicon, and doctrinal content. Others include the *Wu-hsin lun* 無心論 (Treatise on No-Mind) attributed to Bodhidharma, the *Hsin-hsin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription on Faith in Mind) attributed to the third patriarch Seng-ts'an 僧粲 (d. 606?), the *Hsin ming* 心銘 (Inscription on Mind) attributed to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, and the *Hsin-wang ming* 心王銘 (Inscription on the Mind King) attributed to the layman Fu Ta-shih 傅大士 (497–569).[54] Despite the traditional attributions, all of these texts were likely composed in the eighth or early ninth century, making them roughly contemporaneous with the *Treasure Store Treatise*. While a detailed study of this genre would take us too far afield, a

brief look at a few representative passages is sufficient to illustrate their thematic and stylistic affinities.

The *Wu-hsin lun* is known only through a single Tun-huang manuscript.[55] Internal evidence suggests that the text was composed during the mid-T'ang, rendering the attribution to Bodhidharma untenable, but little else is known about the provenance of this short treatise. In content and style, however, the *Wu-hsin lun* so resembles the *Chüeh-kuan lun* that Sekiguchi believed the former to have been written by Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, whom he regarded as the author of the latter (Sekiguchi 1969a:32–33).

Sekiguchi considered the *Hsin-hsin ming* to be an Ox Head product as well (Sekiguchi 1964:69). This short poem in four-character verse is the best-known member of this group: it is the only extant work associated with the third patriarch, and it was included in the widely circulated *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, where it is nestled between the *Hsin-wang ming* and the *Hsin ming*.[56] The *Hsin-hsin ming* enjoyed considerable popularity in later Ch'an and Zen circles and has been translated repeatedly into Japanese and English.[57] Despite its renown, however, we know little today about its origins. The attribution to Seng-ts'an is no longer taken seriously, and references to the *Hsin-hsin ming* in other texts suggest that it was composed shortly before the *Treasure Store Treatise*.[58] The text closely resembles the *Hsin ming*—yet another composition associated with the Ox Head lineage—and it has been suggested that the *Hsin-hsin ming* was intended as an "improvement" on this earlier work.[59]

All of these texts share much of the technical lexicon found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, a lexicon drawn largely from San-lun, Hua-yen, and Taoist sources. Each makes use of similar rhetorical strategies as well—a synthesis of Mādhyamika-style deconstruction, with more kataphatic prose drawing loosely from Yogācāra and Taoist works. This conceptual synthesis is managed through repeated allusion to a truth, variously styled "mind," "no-mind," "the great Way," and so on, that cannot be rendered the subject of predication. Readers are warned repeatedly not to strive after this ineffable "something about which nothing can be said"; only when all striving is relinquished does the Way become manifest. In the words of the *Wu-hsin lun*: "Is [mind] inside or outside, or somewhere in between? As long as one looks for mind in one of these three locations, one's search will end in failure. Indeed, searching for it anywhere will end in failure. That's exactly why it is known as no-mind" 爲復在内爲復在外爲復在中間。如是三

處推求覓心了不可得。乃至於一切處求覓亦不可得。當知即是無心.[60] Compare that passage to the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "Since truth is not something to be sought after, it is not attained from without. Since reality is not something to be cultivated, it is not realized within" 夫眞者所以不合求、爲外無所得。夫實者所以不合修、爲内無所證 (146b12–14); and again: "The origin should not be sought out. Why so? Because the origin is precisely that which does not seek the origin, just as gold does not seek out gold" 夫本者即不合求。何以故。本即不求本也、譬如金不求金也 (148b15–17).

The rhetorical style of these works tends to be more evocative than exegetical, a literary mode reminiscent of earlier *hsüan-hsüeh* 玄學 (dark learning) compositions. While philosophical argument is not unknown, these texts prefer to engender a sense of sublime mystery through intimations of a singular ineffable truth that is coextensive with yet veiled by the mundane world of appearances. Any attempt to name it—to signify that which is beyond all signification—places it beyond one's reach. The *Treasure Store Treatise* states: "If one errs by so much as a hair's breadth, the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain" 差之毫釐過犯山嶽 (143c3–4). Compare that warning with the *Hsin-hsin ming*: "Err by a hair's breadth, and heaven and earth are set infinitely apart" 毫釐有差天地懸隔 (457a19–20).

Given the rhetorical taboo against anything that looks like direct denotation, these texts take recourse in contradiction, paradox, and negation, drawing liberally from the *Tao-te ching*. The following passage from the *Wu-hsin lun* is typical:

> Looking at it, one does not see it;
> Listening to it, it has no sound.
> Seeming obscure, it is not so;
> Appearing bright, it is not bright.
> Try to discard it, and it does not vanish;
> Attempt to grasp it, and it does not arise.
> At large, it covers the entire universe;
> Yet in the minute it does not obstruct a hair.
> Embroiled in passions, it is not soiled;
> In the serenity of nirvana it is not pure.
> As suchness it is by nature without discrimination;
> Yet able to distinguish between sentient and insentient.
> When it gathers in, nothing is left out;
> When dispersing, it is common to all people.
> Wondrous beyond the grasp of knowledge;
> Genuine awakening that cuts off the path of practice.
> Though extinguished, one does not witness its demise;

Though present, its becoming is unseen.
The Great Way is tranquil and marked by no form,
Its myriad appearances silent and marked by no name.
Hence its activities are totally free—
All of this is the essence of no-mind.[61]

Compare the above to the long enumeration of antimonies from chapter 1 of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, which begins as follows:

> If you speak of it as inner, it pervades and embraces the dharma-realm; yet if you speak of it as outer, it provides for all as the bearer of form. Describe it as small and it encompasses that which is most distant, yet describe it as large and it once again enters the realm of the infinitesimal. Call it unified and each [aspect] bears its unique substance, yet call it differentiated and its ethereal essence is devoid of any thing. Call it bright and it is dark and obscure, yet call it dark and it shines brightly with penetrating brilliance. (144c22–26)

And again from chapter 2 of the same text:

> That which is called transcendent is in essence neither one with things nor separate from them. It is like a bright mirror reflecting a myriad images: the mirror is not one with the reflections, nor is it in essence separate from them. Or again, it is like space, which suffuses all things without being tainted. The five colors cannot sully it, the five tones cannot disturb it, the myriad things cannot constrain it, and the dense array [of manifest forms] cannot muddle it. Therefore, it is called transcendent.
>
> That which is called subtle is in essence ethereal and devoid of shape, form, and attributes. It functions in response to things and assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance is never observed. It garners a hundred skills, yet its labors are never revealed. Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard. Yet it possesses a myriad virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. It is neither eternal nor transient, neither separate from things nor dispersed within them, and thus it is called subtle. (146a6–14)

The closing verses of the *Hsin-hsin ming* play with the same theme:

The infinitely small is equal to the big
In the realm where delusion has been cut off.
The infinitely big is equal to the small
Where no boundaries are visible.
Being is precisely nonbeing,
And nonbeing is precisely being.
If it is not like this, then
Don't hold on to things as they are.
One is all and all is one.

> If only you can be like this,
> Why fret about nonperfection?
> Faith and mind are not dual;
> Nonduality is faith in mind.
> Cut off the way of words,
> And there is no past, future, or present.
> 極小同大忘絶境界。極大同小不見邊表。
> 有即是無無即是有。若不如此必不須守。
> 一即一切一切即一。但能如是何慮不畢。
> 信心不二不二信心。言語道断非去來今.[62]

This last passage from the *Hsin-hsin ming* is echoed in the final chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "Therefore, one is all and all is one, and thus we say that everything is formed into the myriad schemata through the activity of the single dharma" 一即一切、一切即一。故言一切以一法之功而成萬象 (148c14–15). The phrase "all is one and one is all" has a somewhat Hua-yen ring to it, as noted by Kamata (1965:328–329). But it would be misleading to overemphasize the role of any specific exegetical or philosophical tradition in the emergence of the rhetorical style and lexicon common to these works. Rather, these early Ch'an (or "proto-Ch'an") compositions reflect a shared literary culture and a shared interest in expressing their understanding of Buddhism in a concise and elegant Chinese idiom, circumventing the more technical rubrics of the Buddhist commentarial tradition. The authors display no penchant for syllogistic reasoning or detailed elaborations of the path. To abuse the metaphor, these works were intended to function more as rhetorical "moons" than as "fingers."

It is perhaps significant that so little is known about the authors of these early Ch'an compositions. Were these texts written anonymously? Or were the names of the original authors lost or effaced by the later tradition? These questions may never be answered, but from an early date these texts, many of which seem to have an affiliation with the Ox Head lineage, were attributed to mythologized masters such as Fu Ta-shih, Bodhidharma, Seng-ts'an, and Seng-chao. Such attributions would have affirmed these texts as direct expressions of the wisdom of the sages of old. At the same time, by ascribing authorship to long-deceased Buddhist clerics, the authors of such texts may have been guarding against the common Taoist allegation that T'ang Buddhists were pilfering Taoist ideas. It is to this rivalry between Buddhists and Taoists that I now turn my attention.

Twofold Mystery Taoism

The Taoist terminology and textual allusions found in the works discussed above are strongly reminiscent of what has come to be known as *ch'ung-hsüan*, or Twofold Mystery Taoism, a tradition that supposedly flourished during the first half of the T'ang dynasty.[63] The term "twofold mystery" is itself culled from chapter 1 of the *Tao-te ching*:

> Always free of desire in order to discern its secrets;
> Always having desire in order to discern its manifestations.
> These two emerge together but differ in name.
> Being the same they are called mysteries 同謂之玄.
> Render it mysterious and again mysterious 玄之又玄,[64]
> The gateway to the myriad wonders.

"Twofold mystery" came to function as a convenient contraction of "render it mysterious and again mysterious," and it was used as such by a host of medieval Chinese writers. But it was not until the tenth century that the Taoist exegete Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850–933) used the term to identify and characterize a specific set of commentators on the *Tao-te ching*.[65] In his *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 道德眞經廣聖義 (*HY*.725, f.440–448), Tu Kuang-t'ing places the authors of *Tao-te ching* commentaries into five categories, distinguished by their understanding of the basic intent (*i* 意) of the text. The five are

1. regulation of the state (*li-kuo* 理國)
2. regulation of the body (*li-shen* 理身)
3. cause and effect in the interrelation of phenomena and principle (*shih-li yin-kuo* 事理因果)
4. twofold mystery (*ch'ung-hsüan*)
5. regulation of family and state through absolute emptiness and nonaction (*hsü-chi wu-wei li-chia li-kuo* 虛極無爲理家理國; fascicle 5.12b)

Tu Kuang-t'ing considers the fifth category to be the most sophisticated, as it successfully integrates the previous four. But he immediately goes on to argue that these categories are only one approach to classifying the commentaries. The individual figures placed under the above headings also differ with respect to their tenet or essential doctrine (*tsung*). Tu Kuang-t'ing lists five such doctrines, each associated with a specific group of commentators (fascicle 5.13a):

1. empty mystery (*hsü-hsüan* 虛玄)
2. nonaction (*wu-wei* 無爲)

3. the Way and virtue (*tao-te* 道德)
4. neither being nor nonbeing (*fei-yu fei-wu* 非有非無)
5. twofold mystery (*ch'ung-hsüan*)

These categories were apparently intended as a loose way of organizing the *Tao-te ching* commentaries at Tu Kuang-t'ing's disposal. There is little evidence of any attempt to be systematic, and one immediately notices two separate *ch'ung-hsüan* headings, constituting the fourth category in the first list and the fifth category in the second. Moreover, Tu Kuang-t'ing places two writers—Meng Chih-chou 孟智周 and Tsang Hsüan-ching 臧玄靜—under "twofold mystery" in the first group but under "the Way and virtue" in the second. Finally, some of the authors grouped together in the first list are separated in the second: Sun Teng 孫登 and Ku Huan 顧歡 are both associated with "regulation of the body" the first time around, but in the second list Ku Huan is placed under "nonaction," while Sun Teng is moved to "twofold mystery." There is no indication that the term "twofold mystery" was used by Tu Kuang-t'ing to designate a self-conscious school, sect, or tradition of commentarial writing, much less a religious institution. I shall return to this point below.

Tu Kuang-t'ing mentions eleven persons in all under the first twofold-mystery heading. With Sun Teng, who appears by himself in the second twofold-mystery group, there are a total of twelve Taoist authors associated with twofold mystery by Tu Kuang-t'ing:

1. Sun Teng is mentioned in the *Tao-te ching k'ai-t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu* 道德經開題序訣義疏 by Ch'eng Hsüan-ying 成玄英 (see number 6 below) as one who established twofold mystery as the essential doctrine (*tsung*): "Although there are many differences between houses 家, I now take Sun [Teng] as correct. He properly made twofold mystery his essential doctrine and nonaction his substance" (Yoshioka 1970:114; Lu 1993:1). There is, however, some confusion as to the identity of this Sun Teng. A Sun Teng of the Chin dynasty (*tzu*: Kung-ho 公和, fl. 260–265) appears in the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語 as a Taoist recluse and as teacher of the famous Hsi K'ang 嵇康 (223–262).[66] But recently Lu Kuo-lung has argued that Ch'eng Hsüan-ying was referring to a Sun Teng of the Eastern Chin who is mentioned in fascicle 56 of the *Chin-shu* 晉書 (Lu 1993:2–4). The son of Sun T'ung 孫統 (fl. mid-fourth century),[67] Sun Teng is reported to have authored a commentary to the *Tao-te ching* and to have had ties to Sun Ch'o 孫綽 (ca. 310–397),[68] Sun Sheng 孫盛 (ca. 302–373),[69] and others closely associated with the Buddhist Chih Tun 支遁 (314–366).

2. Meng Chih-chou (also known as Hsiao Meng 小孟) of the Liu Sung and Liang dynasties is credited with an important development in the doctrine of the "three ones" (*san-i* 三一), although only a single citation from one of his commentaries survives. He is mentioned in this regard in the *Pien-cheng lun* 辯正論,[70] as well as in the *Kuang hung-ming chi* 廣弘明集.[71] Lu Kuo-lung argues that Meng Chih-chou was probably the author of the *Meng fa-shih yü-wei ch'i-pu ching-shu mu* 孟法師玉緯七部經書目 (Scriptural Catalogue of the Seven Sections of the Jade Apocrypha of Dharma Master Meng), a text mentioned in the *Tao-chiao i-shu* 道教義樞 (Pivotal Meaning of the Taoist Teaching; see below). The *Meng fa-shih yü-wei ch'i-pu ching-shu mu* appears to have been an attempt to combine the Taoist scriptural classification of "four supplements" (*ssu-fu* 四輔) with the earlier system of "three caverns" (*san-tung* 三洞), which yields the "seven sections" of the title. This innovation had the result of elevating the status of the *Tao-te ching*, which is central to the first of the four supplements, the T'ai-hsüan 太玄 or Great Mystery.[72]
3. Tsang Hsüan-ching 臧玄靜 (Tao-tsung 道宗) of the Liang dynasty was active in the Hsüan-chen 玄眞 monastery given to him by Emperor Hsüan of the Ch'en dynasty in the mid-seventh century. Only two citations from his commentaries survive.[73]
4. Chu Jou 諸糅 of the Ch'en is known only through a brief mention by Tu Kuang-t'ing and a single reference in the Korean recension of the *Pien-cheng lun*.[74]
5. Liu Chin-hsi 劉進喜 of the T'ang is accused by Hsüan-i 玄嶷 of having forged the first five fascicles of the *Pen-chi ching*.[75] In 618 he lived in the Ch'ing-hsü kuan 清虛觀 in Ch'ang-an, and, according to Tao-hsüan's 道宣 *Ta-t'ang nei-tien-lu* 大唐内典録, he died around the same time as Fa-lin 法琳, in 640.[76] Liu Chin-hsi was given the task of explaining the *Tao-te ching* in a debate with Buddhists ordered by T'ang Kao-tsu (r. 618–627).[77] He also authored an anti-Buddhist polemical text (*Hsien cheng lun* 顯正論), an essay on the *Tao-te ching* (*Lao-tzu t'ung chu lun* 老子通諸論), as well as a commentary to the same text (*Tao-te ching i-shu* 道德經義疏). Wu Chi-yu suspects that he came from the area around Tan-yang 丹陽 (Wu Chi-yu 1960:12).[78]
6. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (Tzu-shih 子實, *hao*: Hsi-hua 西華, fl. 631–652) of the T'ang is perhaps the most important Twofold Mystery figure, if only because of the extent of his surviving oeuvre. According to the brief account of his life in the *Hsin-t'ang shu* 新唐書, Ch'eng was born in Shan-chou 陝州 (Honan) and lived in reclusion in Tung-hai 東海 until summoned to the capital by T'ang T'ai-tsung in 631.[79] In 636 he was selected to participate in a Buddho-Taoist debate ordered by T'ang T'ai-tsung, and

because of his success the emperor proclaimed the superiority of Taoism and had the temple of Lao-tzu restored. In 643 he became abbot of the Hsi-hua kuan 西華觀, and he was called on in 646 to investigate the newly discovered *San-huang wen* 三皇文 (Text of the Three August Ones). Ch'eng exposed the text as a forgery, upon which it was burnt (Sunayama 1980b: 126). In 647 he was ordered by the emperor T'ai-tsung to collaborate with Hsüan-tsang and Ts'ai Huang 蔡晃 on a translation of the *Tao-te ching* into Sanskrit.[80] For reasons that are not entirely clear, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying was banished to Yü-chou 郁州 during the Yung-hui reign period (650–656). Ch'eng was the author of a thirty-five-fascicle subcommentary to the "Hsiang-kuo" 向郭 edition of the *Chuang-tzu* as well as commentaries to the *I ching* 易經, *Ling-pao tu-jen ching* 靈寶度人經, and *Tao-te ching*.[81]

7. Ts'ai Huang (Tzu Huang 子晃) of the T'ang was active in the Buddho-Taoist debates held in 638 and authored at least one commentary on the *Tao-te ching*. He was one of the participants with Ch'eng Hsüan-ying in the Sanskrit translation of the *Tao-te ching*.[82] On the occasion of this translation, he declared: "I have studied the principles in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* and the Three Treatises to the point at which their essential instructions flow spontaneously from me.... Although the texts of the Taoists differ from those of the Buddhists, the tenets are essentially the same."[83]

8. Huang Hsüan-i 黄玄頤 is not well known but is mentioned in fascicle 4 of the *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* 集古今佛道論衡 as one of the participants (along with Li Jung 李榮, to be discussed next) in an imperially sponsored debate between Buddhists and Taoists in 658.[84]

9. Li Jung (Jen-chen tzu 任眞子) of the T'ang came from Mien-hsien 綿縣 near Ch'eng-tu in Szechwan and was a contemporary of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, although perhaps a little younger.[85] Li Jung, who is known to have resided in both the Tung-ming kuan 東明觀 and the Yüan-t'ien kuan 元天觀, played an important part in the debates between Buddhists and Taoists in the early T'ang.[86] It was during the debate of 658 that Li Jung presented the Taoist understanding of *pen-chi* 本際, or "point of genesis"—a key term in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.[87] He authored two commentaries to the *Tao-te ching* and one on the *Hsi-sheng ching* 西昇經.[88]

10. Ch'e Hui-pi 車惠弼 (Hsüan-pi 玄弼), also mentioned by Tu Kuang-t'ing, is known only through a few scattered citations from his commentary (Robinet 1977:107).

11, 12. Little is known about the last two Taoists associated with "two-fold mystery" by Tu Kuang-t'ing, namely Chang Hui-ch'ao 張惠超 and Li Yüan-hsing 黎元興. They apparently worked together

spreading the doctrine in Hsi-shu 西蜀 (west-central Szechwan). Li, also known as abbot of a temple in Ch'eng-tu, was said to have been one of the authors of the *Hai-k'ung ching* 海空經.[89]

All the above are known as, or presumed to be, authors of commentaries on the *Tao-te ching*, and their approach to the text is characterized by Tu Kuang-t'ing as emphasizing "twofold mystery." Modern scholars, however, have used Tu Kuang-t'ing's classification scheme to reconstruct a medieval Taoist sect, complete with its own lines of succession. The manner in which a Sung dynasty exegetical category has been mistaken for a T'ang dynasty religious sect exemplifies the tendency of scholars to read Chinese religious and intellectual history through the lens of Japanese institutional models.

It was actually a Chinese scholar, Meng Wen-t'ung 蒙文通, who was the first to suggest an intellectual genealogy linking the aforementioned commentators under the rubric of a "Twofold Mystery school" (*ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh-p'ai* 重玄學派). Writing on Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's *Tao-te ching* commentary in 1946, Meng based his genealogy on Tu Kuang-t'ing's brief comments in the *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* (Meng 1987:345–346). Meng's thesis was elaborated by the Japanese scholar Fujiwara Takao in his 1961 article "An Investigation into the Twofold Mystery School of *Lao-tzu* Exegesis" (Rōshikai jūgenha kō 老子解重玄派考). Fujiwara went on to produce well over a dozen articles on various Twofold Mystery authors and their commentaries,[90] and these articles laid the groundwork for subsequent research by the Western scholars Isabelle Robinet and Livia Kohn.[91] In 1993 Lu Kuo-lung published what remains the single most comprehensive study of Twofold Mystery thought: *Chung-kuo ch'ung-hsüan-hsüeh* 中國重玄學 (Studies in Chinese Twofold Mystery). Each of these scholars, relying largely on Tu Kuang-t'ing's interpretative categories, identifies the key personalities listed above as constituting a cohesive commentarial tradition known as the Twofold Mystery school.

The Japanese scholar Sunayama Minoru has gone further, arguing that the Twofold Mystery authors were more than simply commentators on the *Tao-te ching*. According to Sunayama, they constituted a full-fledged Taoist religious institution that flourished in the late Sui and early T'ang (Sunayama 1980a; 1990:188–211). Sunayama includes the following scriptures and treatises among the products of this school:

1. *Pen-chi ching* (Scripture of the Genesis Point). This ten-fascicle text is frequently cited in Taoist writings, but with the exception of two

chapters preserved in the Taoist canon, the work had been long lost until it was rediscovered in the caves at Tun-huang.[92] According to the *Chen-cheng lun* 甄正論 compiled by Hsüan-i, the first five fascicles of this text were written by Liu Chin-hsi, and the text was expanded to ten fascicles by Li Chung-ch'ing 李仲卿.[93]

The *Pen-chi ching* was particularly influential in the mid-eighth century, as it was singled out by Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (r. 712–756) for distribution throughout the empire as part of his enthusiastic promotion of Taoist learning (see below). In 741 the emperor decreed: "We have ordered all temples in the empire to begin copying the *Pen-chi ching* on the first day of the first month of the coming year, and to continue until the end of the year. Priests in those temples are to lecture on and chant the scripture during observances for the four great purification rites [rites convened on the first day of each season?] and for all official purification ceremonies" (Benn 1977:248). Apparently the distribution of the text was a success: an imperial edict issued in the following year states that "as a result [of the order to copy the *Pen-chi ching*], this fall We have heard that there was an abundant harvest. If this was not the response of the Great Sage, who could have accomplished it?" (Benn 1977:249). In any event, the results of imperial promotion of the text can be gauged from the sheer number of manuscripts, eighty-one in all, discovered at Tun-huang.[94] This important Taoist scripture may well have influenced the *Treasure Store Treatise* (see below).

2. *Hsüan-men ta-i* 玄門大義 (The Great Meaning of the Mystery Gate).[95] This text dates to the late sixth century and seems to have inspired the next text in this list, the *Tao-chiao i-shu.*
3. *Tao-chiao i-shu* (Pivotal Meaning of the Taoist Teaching) by Meng An-p'ai 孟安排.[96] Compiled in the late seventh or early eighth century, the *Tao-chiao i-shu* influenced the organization of many later Taoist compilations, most notably the Sung compendium *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤. The *Tao-chiao i-shu* was written in part as a Taoist response to Buddhist criticism, and while it never explicitly cites Buddhist sources, it is teeming with Buddhist terminology (see below). Its author was apparently resident in the area of Ch'ing-hsi 青溪 (in Ching-chou, modern Hupei province), a secluded mountain valley named after the stream that ran through it. This spot was popular with Taoist recluses from as early as the fourth or fifth century A.D., and by the Sui period Buddhists were taking up residence there as well. Ch'ing-hsi is also not far from the major T'ien-t'ai monastery Yü-ch'üan ssu 玉泉寺, which would have further contributed to the region functioning as a "seat of ecumenical learning" (Barrett 1991:12). Barrett suggests that sites like this one provided a venue for Buddhist and Taoist exchange, the results of which are evident in texts like the *Tao-chiao i-shu.*
4. *Hsi-yü shen-hsin ching* 洗浴身心經 (Scripture on the Cleansing and Purification of Body and Mind).[97] According to Hsüan-i's *Chen-cheng*

lun, this short text of four pages was written by Li Jung, one of the most important Twofold Mystery exegetes.[98]

5. *Ta-hsien ching* 大獻經 (The Scripture of Great Offerings). Yoshioka believes this text to have been composed around the time of Ch'eng Hsüan-y'ing.[99] The *Chen-cheng lun* claims that this text was forged by Liu Wu-tai 劉無待 in emulation of the (apocryphal) *Yü-lan-p'en ching* 盂蘭盆經.[100]
6. *Chiu-yu ching* 九幽經 (Scripture of the Nine Occult [Repentances]), also attributed to Liu Wu-tai by Hsüan-i.[101] This text appears around the end of Hsüan-tsung's reign (Yoshioka 1970:393).
7. *Hai-k'ung ching* (Scripture of [Master] Hai-k'ung) is attributed to Li Yüan-hsing 黎元興 and Fang Chang 方長 in the *Chen-cheng lun*.[102] As mentioned above, Li Yüan-hsing is associated with the Twofold Mystery tradition.

Given the similarities in rhetorical style, lexicon, and doctrinal content, Sunayama argues that the above texts must be the products of a single school. He attributes particular significance to the fact that the term "twofold mystery" occurs in the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, the *Hsüan-men ta-i*, and the *Ta-hsien ching*. This term alone, according to Sunayama, identifies them as products of the Twofold Mystery sect. And if the *Ta-hsien ching* can be associated with this sect, then so can the *Chiu-yu ching*, which is attributed to the same author, Liu Wu-tai. Furthermore, the Buddhist polemicist Hsüan-i explicitly attributes the *Pen-chi ching*, *Hsi-yü shen-hsin ching*, and *Hai-k'ung ching* to authors associated with Twofold Mystery.

Sunayama also notes the tendency for exponents of this school to incorporate the character *hsüan* 玄 into their names, as did the emperor Hsüan-tsung, who was a patron of Taoism and a sponsor of Buddho-Taoist debates (Sunayama 1980a:36). Sunayama has in mind the Chinese Buddhist practice wherein a tonsure master incorporates a character from his own dharma name in the dharma name of his disciple. That Twofold Mystery figures did the same is further evidence, according to Sunayama, of a self-conscious historical entity.

Sunayama concludes that Twofold Mystery Taoism was a full-fledged religious lineage in the early T'ang. Members of this school, notable for their involvement in Buddho-Taoist debates, include Liu Chin-hsi, Li Chung-ch'ing, Li Yüan-hsing, Fang Chang, Li Jung, and Liu Wu-tai, all of whom are mentioned in the *Chen-cheng lun*.[103] Having established the existence of the Twofold Mystery school, Sunayama traces its historical and doctrinal origins back to the T'ai-hsüan p'ai 太玄派 (Great Mystery school) and the Ling-pao p'ai 靈寶派 (Numinous Treasure school).[104]

Sunayama does more than argue the mere existence of such a tradition; he proceeds to trace its genealogy (*keifu* 系譜), producing a detailed chart illustrating the lineal relationships among the twelve persons and seven texts mentioned above (Sunayama 1980a:41). Again, Sunayama has in mind the Chinese Buddhist model, wherein a school or sect is conceived as analogous to an extended kinship group.

The application of family and kinship metaphors to the Buddhist *saṃgha* did not originate with Ch'an, but Ch'an did contribute to the evolution of new institutional and ritual forms based on the genealogical model. The emergence of Ch'an in the eighth century is closely associated with the production and manipulation of pseudo-historical lineages, and the trope of patriarchal descent has continued to dominate Ch'an thought and practice down to the present day. The trope is largely ideological—it lends authority to specific teachers through recourse to the myth of direct spiritual descent from a common ancestor (Śākyamuni, Bodhidharma, Hui-neng, Lin-chi, and so on). But while such lineage histories often played loose with the facts, they nevertheless served as the organizing narrative of an emerging institutional reality.[105] In contrast, there is no indication that the individuals whom Fujiwara, Sunayama, Robinet, and Kohn identify as Twofold Mystery Taoists conceived of themselves along such lines. Indeed, it seems clear that Tu Kuang-t'ing was doing little more than groping for a way to organize the commentaries at his disposal. Sunayama's genealogy is constructed by placing the figures mentioned by Tu Kuang-t'ing in chronological order, joining their names with lines, and then associating them with particular scriptures on the basis of Hsüan-i's polemical attributions. There is, in the final analysis, no evidence that any of the figures in Sunayama's Twofold Mystery genealogy perceived themselves as members of a distinct lineage.

There is another problem with the construction of such a Taoist school: the term "*ch'ung-hsüan*," or twofold mystery, appears in a wide variety of Buddhist texts dating to the same period.[106] To pick a single but significant example, it is found in the sayings of Shen-hsiu as recorded in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* 楞伽師資記 (Records of the Masters and Disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra*), in which Shen-hsiu refers to his own teaching as the "twofold-mystery gate" 重玄門.[107] Yanagida believes that Shen-hsiu may have been drawing on the *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching* 菩薩瓔珞本業經 (Scripture of the Original Acts That Serve as Necklaces for the Bodhisattvas), a Chinese apocryphon composed in the fifth century that was influential in the Sui and T'ang periods.[108]

I will return to the Buddhist understanding of twofold mystery a little later; here it will suffice to note that the term is ubiquitous in Buddhist sources and that the use of the locution by T'ang Taoists followed Buddhist doctrinal antecedents rather than the other way around.[109]

I do not intend, however, to abandon the nomenclature of Twofold Mystery Taoism altogether. The doctrinal and rhetorical affinities detected by Tu Kuang-t'ing in the tenth century and Fujiwara, Sunayama, Robinet, Kohn, and Lu in the twentieth are not merely imaginative projections. The works discussed under the rubric of the "Twofold Mystery school" evince a recognizable style of Taoist exegesis that was fashionable among literati in the early T'ang. There is abundant evidence that the so-called Twofold Mystery authors enjoyed the esteem of the court: Liu Chin-hsi, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, Ts'ai Huang, Huang Hsüan-i, and Li Jung were all called on to represent Taoism in Buddho-Taoist debates at a time when the T'ang emperors were sympathetic to Taoist interests. The interaction of these Taoist cognoscenti with their Buddhist counterparts at court-sponsored debates may account in part for the Buddhist terminology that saturates the Twofold Mystery corpus.

But again, these facts do not constitute evidence for the existence of a Twofold Mystery sect. That so many figures, including Emperor Hsüan-tsung, incorporated the character for "mystery" (*hsüan*) into their names suggests only that the term was in vogue among certain seventh- and eighth-century literati. (Note that the Buddhist writer Hsüan-i 玄嶷, an ardent debunker of Taoist "Twofold Mystery" apocrypha, also has the character *hsüan* in his name.) The truth is that little is known about the institutional affiliations of most of the Taoists in the group.[110] Indeed, it may be that these Taoists intentionally eschewed sectarian affiliations in the interests of a more catholic conception of Taoism. Friederike Assandri, who has made an extended study of the personages associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism, suggests that they were involved in the creation of a sort of "one vehicle Taoism" (or "Taoist Mahāyāna") epitomized by the *Pen-chi ching*, that was to encompass, integrate, and supersede all earlier Taoist traditions.[111] This new Taoism was designed, it would seem, to appeal to the literate gentry, and Taoists of this bent were particularly well positioned to speak on behalf of "Taoism" at court-sponsored debates.

I will thus continue to use the term "Twofold Mystery" to refer to a recognizable style of Taoist exegesis current in the seventh and eighth

centuries. In certain respects the Twofold Mystery corpus represents an evolution of the *hsüan-hsüeh* writings of the third century, also based in part on a "mystical" reading of the *Tao-te ching* (although the interests of the Twofold Mystery authors were more clearly soteriological). The most notable feature of the Twofold Mystery materials is, no doubt, their profligate appropriation of Buddhist terms and ideas. As will be seen, even the term "twofold mystery"—inarguably culled from the *Tao-te ching*—is implacably marked with Buddhist significations.

Twofold Mystery Taoism and Mādhyamika Dialectic

"Twofold mystery" alludes to the phrase "render it mysterious and again mysterious" from the opening chapter of the *Tao-te ching*. The T'ang Twofold Mystery authors interpret the phrase as follows: to render it mysterious is to go beyond attachment to either being or nonbeing, and to render it again mysterious is to abandon attachment to even the mysterious. In the words of Li Jung: "It is for the sake of the mystery that one abandons both being and nonbeing. Once both being and nonbeing are abandoned, the mystery fades away of itself."[112] There is a distinct air of Buddhist dialectic to this statement. How did it find its way into a Taoist interpretation of a nominally Taoist compound?

The origins of the term "twofold mystery" are not entirely clear; it does not appear in influential early-medieval Taoist collections such as Ko Hung's 葛洪 (283–343) *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子 or the *Chen-kao* 眞誥 by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536). It does occur twice in the sixth-century Taoist encyclopedia *Wu-shang pi-yao* 無上祕要, denoting a heaven above all heavens, the realm of Shang-ch'ing hsüan-tu 上清玄都, but Sunayama believes that this usage does not bear directly on the later interpretation of the term by T'ang writers.[113] I would note, however, that the use of *ch'ung-hsüan* as a proper noun is characteristic of many Buddhist and Taoist cosmological names: it is often difficult to determine when such a term is meant to refer to an actual geographical locale in the known world, to a location in a contiguous "sacred realm" (in the heavens above, in the underworld, or within the human body), or, more metaphorically, to a state of being or mode of perception. Taoist cosmological place names, like their Buddhist counterparts, often straddle all these domains at once.

Be that as it may, the meaning of the term in T'ang Twofold Mystery texts is more readily traced to Buddhist sources. *Ch'ung-hsüan*

appears in a number of early Buddhist compositions meaning the "profundity of the Way"; it was used in this way in the works of Chih Tun and Seng-chao, for example.[114] More significant, as mentioned above it appears in the fifth-century apocryphon *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching* in the midst of an enumeration of the forty-two stages of the bodhisattva path.[115] The penultimate forty-first stage, titled "accessing the mind of the dharma-realm" (*ju fa-chieh hsin* 入法界心), is in turn divided into ten dharmas or methods (*fa* 法), of which the sixth is called "accessing the gate of twofold mystery" (*ju ch'ung-hsüan men* 入重玄門). The meaning of these somewhat cryptic markers is not always clear, but later commentators understood the forty-first stage as entailing the recapitulation of the entire Buddhist path, from the arising of the aspiration for buddhahood to final liberation.[116] Tim Barrett suggests that this "reduplicative" sense of twofold mystery may explain the later Taoist understanding of the term as involving a "return to the world" (1982:39).

The earliest extant Buddhist text to use "twofold mystery" in an unambiguously dialectical sense may be Wŏnhyo's 元曉 (617–686) commentary to the *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching*, in which Wŏnhyo glosses *ch'ung-hsüan* as "the emptiness of emptiness" (*k'ung-k'ung* 空空, Sk. *śūnyatāśūnyatā*).[117] According to this venerable Mahāyāna tenet, emptiness too is an expedient device: one reflects on the emptiness of all conditioned things in order to sever attachment, but having done so, one must go further and reflect on the emptiness of emptiness, lest emptiness itself become an object of clinging. Barrett believes that Wŏnhyo would not have associated twofold mystery with the emptiness of emptiness unless the equivalence had already been established.[118] In any case, it is clear that by Wŏnhyo's time "twofold mystery" had come to be understood in explicitly dialectical terms, and its association with the emptiness of emptiness and freedom from attachment is reaffirmed in later Buddhist exegesis.[119]

The earliest known Taoist scripture in which the term "*ch'ung-hsüan*" is interpreted in such a dialectical fashion may be the *Pen-chi ching*: "When we speak of mystery 玄, it means nonattachment to anything in the four quarters. This exhausts the meaning of mystery. Therefore, the practitioner must be without attachment or entanglement to either emptiness or being. This can be called mystery. Moreover, one must abandon [even] this mystery. There is nothing at all to be attained, and therefore it is called the gateway to the many marvels of the twofold mystery 重玄衆妙之門" (Sunayama 1980a:39).

A similar analysis is found in Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's preface to his commentary to the *Tao-te ching*, which, like the *Pen-chi ching*, dates to the first half of the seventh century:

> "Mystery" refers to that which is both profound and distant, and it also means nonattachment. It is called the most profound and the most distant, free of both attachment and entanglement. Since there is no attachment to being, there is also no attachment to nonbeing. And since there is no attachment to attachment, there is also no attachment to nonattachment. The hundred negations and the four propositions all cease to be objects of attachment, and thus it is called the twofold mystery.[120]

One is immediately struck by the patently "Buddhist" elements in these works, most evident in the reference to the "four propositions" (*ssu-chü* 四句, Sk. *catuṣkoṭi*, "four-cornered negation" or "tetralemma"). The four propositions have their roots in early Buddhist literature, where they appeared in conjunction with the "undecided questions" (Sk. *avyākṛtavastūni*).[121] In China they are better known from Mahāyāna materials, where they constitute an exhaustive list of logical possibilities with regard to the veracity of any proposition (i.e., it exists, it does not exist, it both exists and does not exist, it neither exists nor does not exist). Nāgārjuna adopts the fourfold formulation in his *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Verses on the Middle Way), in which he casts philosophical propositions into the four steps of the tetralemma and then systematically refutes each step in a reductio ad absurdum argument.[122]

In China the fourfold negation is frequently conjoined with another seminal Mahāyāna notion, the doctrine of "two truths," best known from chapter 24 of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*.[123] In Indian Mādhyamika the two truths functioned rhetorically as two distinct levels of description, that of the world as conventionally understood versus that of the world as seen through the eyes of a buddha.[124] While conventional language (*saṃvṛti*)—the language in which teachings of the Buddha are cast—may have pragmatic and soteriological value, such language does not ultimately denote self-existing objects; "table," "chair," "suffering," and even "liberation" are simply convenient designations for dependently originated constructs. Nor does the language of the absolute (*paramārtha*) refer to real objects; "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) refers to the absence of self-existence in all conventionally designated phenomena. Thus the two truths do not correspond to two ontologically distinct realities but rather to two modes of discourse.

Even granting this charitable interpretation of the doctrine, the two-truth formulation generates a number of philosophical conundrums. One immediately wants to know if the doctrine itself is absolute or conventional. For it seems that it cannot be absolute, as it is predicated on a quintessentially conceptual dichotomy; but if it is merely conventional, it cannot perform the hermeneutic task required of it, namely, that of distinguishing between the conventional and something (anything) else. In either case, the doctrine threatens to collapse into paradox.

East Asian Buddhist exegesis attests to the problems and ambiguities that attend the two-truth formulation. At best, in Robert Gimello's felicitous diction, "*saṃvṛti* always ends up looking like a generous euphemism for 'falsehood.' " At worst, Nāgārjuna is transformed into a metaphysical dualist, a tendency attributable in part to the pervasive influence of Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra teachings that reify the absolute under the rubric of "mind," "buddha-nature," "matrix of buddhahood," "storehouse consciousness," and so on. In China, the notion of absolute truth is frequently identified with the immutable and transcendent Tao itself.

Both the tetralemma and the two truths appear in Chinese texts as the schematic backdrop for new soteriological models. Each of the four steps of the tetralemma is interpreted as a stage on the path to the realization of the absolute, while the two truths correspond to two different levels of understanding or to people of differing capacities. Chi-tsang, to pick but one Buddhist commentator who was influential in Twofold Mystery thought, creates a synthetic system that posits three stages in the attainment of the two truths:

> When it is said that dharmas are extant, it is ordinary people who say so. This is conventional truth, the truth of ordinary people. Saints and sages, however, truly know that the nature of all dharmas is empty. This is absolute truth, the truth of the sages, which is taught in order to lead people from the conventional to the absolute, to renounce [the life] of ordinary people and to accept that of the sages. This is the reason for clarifying the first stage of the twofold truth.
>
> Next comes the second stage, which explains that both being and nonbeing belong to conventional truth, whereas nonduality belongs to absolute truth. It explains being and nonbeing as two extremes: being is one extreme and nonbeing another, [and the analysis is the same for everything including] permanence and impermanence, *saṃsāra* and nirvāṇa, all of which are pairs of extremes. Since absolute and conventional, *saṃsāra* and nirvāṇa are all two extremes, they are designated conventional truth. Neither absolute nor conventional,

> neither *saṃsāra* nor nirvāṇa, the nondual middle way is the absolute truth.
>
> The third stage is that in which both duality and nonduality are [understood as] conventional truth, whereas neither duality nor nonduality is absolute truth.... Duality is a partial [view], while nonduality is the middle [view]. But partiality is one extreme and the middle is another. Thus both the partial and the middle are two extremes, and being two extremes, they are designated conventional truth. That which is neither partial nor middle is the absolute of the middle way.[125]

Chi-tsang has ingeniously incorporated the two truths into the structure of the tetralemma in a manner that resists the tendency toward reification. Each of Chi-tsang's "stages" is the antidote (Sk. *pratipakṣa*) to that which came before; the thesis-antithesis structure of the previous level is resolved or "sublated" in the process of rendering it a single pole of a new pair. Dualities are overcome, but only through positing new dualities, constructing an ascending spiral of ever more liberated perspectives.[126] The tetralemma has been transformed from a logical tool used in the analysis of philosophical propositions to a progressive set of correctives that compose discrete stages on the bodhisattva path.

The Twofold Mystery thinkers made ample use of the notion of remedy—each of the four propositions is a corrective to that which precedes it, and none is considered absolute. The adept must ceaselessly aim for the Way (*tao*) of the middle by striving to transcend his or her current position. This "Buddhologized" conception of the Taoist path is explicit in the writings of both Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, in which the term "twofold mystery" functions as an injunction to "go beyond even mystery."

Buddhist Influence on Twofold Mystery Dialectic

There are a number of phrases and terms related to the term "twofold mystery" that capture this dialectical structure. These include "decrease and again decrease" (*sun chih yu sun* 損之又損) from chapter 48 of the *Tao-te ching* and "double forgetfulness" (*chien-wang* 兼忘), which can be traced back to the *Chuang-tzu*. In each case the Twofold Mystery interpretation of the terms by T'ang authors is indebted to Mādhyamika thought. "Decrease and again decrease" is patently parallel to the "render it mysterious and again mysterious" of *Tao-te ching* 1; accordingly, the Twofold Mystery commentaries in-

terpret it in terms of "being" and "nonbeing"—one first diminishes attachment to being, and, as being is diminished, attachment to nonbeing will follow in due course (Robinet 1977:112–113). The latter expression, "double forgetfulness," is mentioned in the *Pen-chi ching*, where it is used to explain "twofold mystery" as a two-stage process. In her analysis of the term, Livia Kohn comments: "First one has to abandon all that is around oneself, then one goes on to abandon the forgetting process itself. As Ch'eng Hsüan-ying has it in fascicle 56 of his commentary to the *Tao-te ching*: 'Projected reality and inner knowledge have to be abandoned. Once one has forgotten oneself and others in this twofold manner, one will regard the close and the distant in the same way' " (1987a:42). In this way both twofold mystery and double forgetfulness are associated with the well-known term "sitting in forgetfulness" (*tso-wang* 坐忘). Each concept is interpreted as entailing a "second step in the meditation on being and nonbeing: one must 'empty oneself of the empty' " (Robinet 1987: 13). Unlike Wang Pi's 王弼 (226–249) approach to the *Tao-te ching*, which tended to exalt nonbeing over being, or the commentary to the *Chuang-tzu* by Hsiang Hsiu 向秀 (ca. 221–ca. 300) and Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312), which exalted being over nonbeing, the rhetorical strategy of the Twofold Mystery authors, borrowed largely from Buddhism, sought to eradicate the ontological rift between being and nonbeing, or being and emptiness.[127]

Twofold Mystery treatises and commentaries are, in fact, so permeated by Buddhist thought and terminology that extended passages could be approached as inventive exercises in Buddhist rereadings of Taoist classics. Take the following line, for example, from chapter 4 of the *Tao-te ching*: "The way is empty yet use will not drain it" 道冲而用之或不盈.[128] Both Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying interpret *ch'ung* 冲 as *chung* 中, that is, the "middle" of the "middle view" (*chung-kuan* 中觀, a Chinese rendering of Mādhyamika). Li Jung comments: "The Way of the harmony of the middle 中和之道 is neither filled nor does it deplete. It is neither being nor nonbeing nor both together, nor is it full or empty. [Lao-tzu] employs the remedy of the middle way to cure the disease of the two extremes. Once the sickness is cured, one can abandon the remedy."[129]

To pick another example more or less at random, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying explains the terms "*tao*" 道 and "*te*" 德 from the *Tao-te ching* in terms of the distinction between the object of consciousness (*ching* 境) and the knowing or consciousness of that object (*chih* 智):

> The Tao is the ethereal object, perfect and universal. Virtue is the consciousness of the sage which is perfect forgetting. Without the object there is nothing to elicit knowing. Without knowing there is nothing to illuminate the object. The object and the knowing [of it] are conjoined, and therefore we call them Tao and virtue. Therefore, the knowing of the object and the object known are neither the same nor different and yet are both different and the same. 道是圓通之妙境、德是至忘之聖智。非境無以導智、非智無以照境。境智相會故稱道德。然境智智境、不一不異、而異而一.[130]

This dialectical opposition and manipulation of the "knower" and the "known" has its origins in Buddhist epistemology. Seng-chao, for example, in commenting on a passage from the *Fang-kuang po-jo ching* 放光般若經,[131] writes: "The knowing and the known exist conjointly and inexist conjointly. Because they inexist conjointly, no thing is existent. Because they exist conjointly, no thing is inexistent. Because no thing is inexistent, [knowing] is aroused by its object. Because no thing is existent, [knowledge] is not something that objects can arouse."[132] Although Seng-chao's work, as mentioned above, remained authoritative in the seventh century, the more immediate influence on Ch'eng Hsüan-ying was likely the San-lun exegete Chi-tsang. Chi-tsang's *Ta-sheng hsüan lun* contains a section called "a discussion of the object and the knowing [of the object]" (*lun ching-chih men* 論境智門), which concerns the codependence of an object of consciousness (*ching* 境) and the consciousness of that object (*chih* 智). The discussion begins:

> Knowing does not arise in isolation but emerges from the object. Therefore, the object is the foundation of knowing. But the object does not stand alone; rather it assumes its name in dependence upon being known. Therefore, knowing is the foundation of the object. Therefore, without the object there is nothing to elicit knowing, and without knowing there is nothing to illuminate the object 故智爲境本是以非境無以發智非智無以照境 .... One cannot say the object comes first and knowing follows, or that knowing comes first and the object follows, or that they are simultaneous. One can only speak of the interdependence of the object and knowing.[133]

Note the almost identical wording used by Chi-tsang and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying (compare Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's 非境無以導智、非智無以照境 with the 非境無以發智、非智無以照境 of the *Ta-sheng hsüan lun*). Section 27 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, titled "The Meaning of Object and Knowing" (*Ching chih i* 境智義), takes up the same issue: "Inner and outer are not two, the object and knowing are not distinct; not dis-

tinct and yet distinct, not two and yet two" 內外不二、境智無殊。不殊而殊、不二而二.[134] Similar arguments are found in the writings of a host of T'ang authors, including the Hua-yen exegete Fa-tsang 法藏 (643–712) and the Shang-ch'ing patriarch Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎 (647–735).[135]

The above is but a sampling of the kinds of Buddhist formulations that saturate these T'ang Taoist writings. The following list of technical terms, taken from a single text associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism, the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, illustrates the extent of such borrowing. The terms below are by no means ancillary; each merits a separate entry in the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, indicating that they were viewed as significant, if not contested, concepts or categories:

1. The term "three vehicles" (*san-sheng* 三乘) was the title of section 18 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (*san-sheng i* 三乘義), although the section is now lost. The term is borrowed from the Buddhist *triyāna* and appears in the writings of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, where it refers to the differing receptive capacities among persons. The person of the great vehicle embodies the truth in the tainted world, as opposed to those of the lesser vehicle who seek a private tranquility in mountain retreats, a valuation that recalls the Mahāyāna ideal of enlightenment within the workaday world. Tu Kuang-t'ing distinguishes between small and great vehicle in terms of whether one seeks salvation for the world or for oneself, thus adopting the ideal of the compassionate bodhisattva (Robinet 1977:144–145). The term also occurs in Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's *Tso-wang lun* 坐忘論.[136] Livia Kohn understands the *Tso-wang lun* passage as referring to the three major schools of Taoism: the Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, and San-huang 三皇 schools (1987a:107).
2. The "three treasures" (*san-pao* 三寶) are the subject of section 3 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (*san-pao i* 三寶義, 1.8a–12b), where they are explained as the "treasure of the Tao" (*tao-pao* 道寶), the "treasure of the T'ai-shang scriptures" (*T'ai-shang-ching pao* 太上經寶), and the "treasure of the great teachers of the law" (*ta-fa-shih pao* 大法師寶). This triad is a reworking of the Buddhist *triratna* of buddha, dharma, and *saṃgha*.
3. The "nature of the Tao," or "Tao-nature" (*tao-hsing* 道性), functions in T'ang Taoist texts in a manner precisely analogous to the "buddha-nature" (*fo-hsing* 佛性) of the Buddhists. The *Tao-chiao i-shu* section on Tao-nature says: "Sentient beings [possessed of] the Tao-nature are all one with the self-so" 道性衆生皆與自然同也.[137] The Tao-nature is neither born nor does it pass away, is neither existent nor nonexistent, but it is that which makes the realization of the Tao possible. "When there is manifestation [of the Tao], it is spoken of as the fruit of the Tao 道果; and when it is hidden, it is called Tao-nature. The pure, empty, and spontaneous Tao-nature is embodied

in all conscious beings, and even all animals, plants, trees, and rocks possess this Tao-nature" (8.6b1–3).

4. The "law-body" (*fa-shen* 法身) is borrowed from the Buddhist *dharmakāya* but is used far more loosely than its Buddhist counterpart. In the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (section 2, 1.3a–8a), the law-body is explained as that fundamental principle on which all is "modeled" (*fa* 法); it is also used to refer to the Taoist deity the Heavenly Venerable (*t'ien-tsun* 天尊). The law-body is divided into two, the fundamental-body (*pen-shen* 本身) and the trace-body (*chi-shen* 跡身). The fundamental-body gives birth to the myriad things, and the multifarious forms it produces are the trace-body. The fundamental-body and the trace-body can each be subdivided into three bodies. The three fundamental-bodies consist of

    a. The Tao-body (*tao-shen* 道身), which is another name for the "true Tao," free from birth and death.
    b. The truth-body (*chen-shen* 眞身), which is pure and without obstructions.
    c. The retribution-body (*pao-shen* 報身), which is a recompense body, received as a result of activity from countless past existences. This term is derived from the Buddhist term "*saṃbhogakāya*"—the body of ease and bliss enjoyed by buddhas as the fruit of their practice.

    The three trace-bodies consist of:

    a. The response-body (*ying-shen* 應身), which, "being devoid [of a mind of its own], responds to all beings" (1.4a9–10). The *Tao-chiao i-shu* quotes the *Pen-chi ching* as follows: "Resonating with the fundamental nature of things, it assumes form and structure and is therefore called the response-body" 本際經云：應物根性示色象、故名應身 (1.4a10). The relationship of the Chinese "response-body" to Indian Buddhist conceptions of the *nirmāṇakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* is a complex issue that will be taken up in the following chapter.
    b. The reduplication-body (*fen-shen* 分身) refers to the capacity of the law-body to create innumerable manifestations that can appear simultaneously in myriad locations.
    c. The transformation-body (*hua-shen* 化身) refers to the unending transformations of the law-body, or *t'ien-tsun*, which can take on the form of any being in the six realms of existence (*liu-tao* 六道) in accordance with whatever is most efficacious.

5. The "five aggregates" (*wu-yin* 五蔭) are the subject of section 12 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (4.1a6–4a5). This term is derived from the Chinese translation of Sk. *skandha* (aggregates). In the *Tao-chiao i-shu* they are listed as material form (*se* 色), consciousness (*shih* 識), conception (*hsiang* 想), mind (*hsin* 心), and activity (*hsing* 行). These have been derived from the Buddhist terms "*rūpa*" (form),

"*vijñāna*" (consciousness), "*saṃjñā*" (perception), "*vedanā*" (feeling), and "*saṃskāra*" (impulses). (Note the use of *hsin*, or "mind," where one would expect the Buddhist *shou* 受.)

6. The "pure lands" (*ching-t'u* 淨土) are described in section 31 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (9.2a5–3a5) and would appear to compete with Buddhist pure lands such as the Sukhāvatī of Amitābha. In this Taoist scheme there are five pure lands:

   a. The Land of the Immortals (*hsien-jen t'u* 仙人土), which corresponds to the heaven of Great Clarity (*t'ai-ch'ing* 太清).
   b. The Land of the Perfected (*chen-jen t'u* 眞人土), which corresponds to the heaven of Highest Clarity (*shang-ch'ing* 上清).
   c. The Land of the Sages (*sheng-jen t'u* 聖人土), which corresponds to the heaven of Jade Clarity (*yü-ch'ing* 玉清).
   d. The Land of the Heavenly Venerable (*t'ien-tsun t'u* 天尊土).
   e. The Land of Sentient Beings (*chung-sheng t'u* 衆生土).

   At the end of the enumeration of the five pure lands, the *Tao-chiao i-shu* cites a "Pure Land Scripture" as follows: "When the three actions are pure, the six faculties 根 are pure. When the six faculties are pure, the realm is pure." The doctrine that one creates a pure land in the here and now through the purification of one's mind is common to many T'ang Buddhist writings; scriptural authority can be found in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the buddha-land is pure."[138] This oft-repeated line from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* is reproduced in both the *Treasure Store Treatise* (145c10–11) and the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*.[139]

The *Tao-chiao i-shu* also devotes sections to the discussion of the "three activities" (*san-ye* 三業), derived from the Buddhist *trikarma* (the activities of body, speech, and mind, section 14, 4.6b4–7a1); the "ten evils" (*shih-o* 十惡), derived from the Buddhist *daśakuśala* (section 15, 4.7a2–8b7); the "six pervasions" (*liu-t'ung* 六通), derived from the Buddhist *abhijñā*, or six supernatural powers (section 19, now lost); the "six crossings" (*liu-tu* 六度) from the Buddhist six *pāramitā*, or perfections (section 21, now lost); the "four equanimities" (*ssu-teng* 四等) from the Buddhist *brahmavihāra*, or four abodes of the brahmas (section 22, now lost); the "field of merit" (*fu-t'ien* 福田) from the Buddhist *puṇyakṣetra* (section 30, 9.1a7–2a4); and so on.

What is one to make of the fact that a vast number of key terms in such purportedly Taoist works are unambiguously Buddhist in origin? Indeed, a Buddhist scholar casually glancing through the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, the *Pen-chi ching*, or the works of Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying might well conclude that these works were composed by nascent Buddhists whose familiarity with canonical Buddhist doctrine left some-

thing to be desired. Similarly, a Taoist scholar unfamiliar with the traditions surrounding the *Treasure Store Treatise* could be forgiven if he or she mistook it for the work of a Taoist with Buddhist sympathies. It is unlikely that such large-scale borrowing is the result of peaceful coexistence and benevolent intellectual exchange. Given the political and social stakes in the seventh and eighth centuries, with both Taoists and Buddhists vying for prestige and state patronage, the texts I have been examining may represent the concerted attempts by both sides to lay exclusive claim to a common conceptual terrain. Both could plausibly argue authority over the spiritual verities of the sages, expressed, as seen above, in a pastiche of Buddhist and Taoist terms and motifs. It is no accident that this confluence of Buddhist and Taoist literary and thematic forms should reach a peak during the reign of emperor Hsüan-tsung, shortly before the appearance of the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

The *Treasure Store Treatise* and Gentry Taoism

The *Treasure Store Treatise* is replete with terms and turns of phrase characteristic of Twofold Mystery scriptures and commentarial writings, including two references to the "mystery of mysteries" (*hsüan-hsüan*, 144a1, 145b24) from which the term "twofold mystery" is derived. I have shown that, in and of themselves, these references are of questionable significance: the terms "mystery of mysteries" and the "twofold mystery" can be found in a broad spectrum of Chinese Buddhist texts. More significant, then, are two technical terms that play a central role in the third chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "point of genesis" (*pen-chi*) and "True One" (*chen-i* 眞一); the concluding passage of the *Treasure Store Treatise* proclaims that the entire treatise was written solely to bring about an understanding of this True One (150a3–5). Both terms play a central role in T'ang Twofold Mystery works, as I document in my commentary to the translation.

But the single most pronounced similarity between the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the Twofold Mystery texts is their shared interest in the *Tao-te ching*. The *Treasure Store Treatise* alludes repeatedly and unmistakably to this venerable scripture through the use of conspicuous terms, phrases, and direct quotations. The opening lines of the *Treasure Store Treatise* are a blatant crib of the first lines of the *Tao-te ching*: "Emptiness that can be deemed empty is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form is not true form." The *Treasure Store Treatise*

goes on to mention the "great schemata" (*ta-hsiang* 大象), the "nameless unwrought substance" (*wu-ming chih p'u* 無名之朴), the "solitary hub" (*ku-ku* 孤轂), "nothingness" (*wu-wu* 無物), and the "sublime female" (*hsüan p'in* 玄牝)—all terms that hark back to the *Tao-te ching*. Moreover, the *Tao-te ching* is the source for much of the cosmological speculation and "return-to-the-source" ideology that is a preoccupation of chapter 3 of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The cosmological meanderings in chapter 3 begin, in fact, with a quotation from *Tao-te ching* 42, perhaps the single most important source for later Taoist cosmologies: "The Way initially begets One. . . . One begets two. . . . Two begets the *yin* and the *yang*" (148a4–6). Finally, I would mention the long and important discussion concerning "subtlety" (*wei* 微) and "transcendence" (*li* 離) in the second chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The metaphysical significance of "subtlety" is similarly derived, as I shall show, from the *Tao-te ching*.

The fact that the *Treasure Store Treatise*, like the works ascribed to the so-called Twofold Mystery authors, takes its inspiration from the *Tao-te ching* no doubt reflects the popularity of Lao-tzu's classic in eighth-century China. This popularity was, in part, a reflection of the efforts by the court to foster Taoism as the legitimizing ideology of the dynasty. A succession of early T'ang rulers advanced the cause of Taoism in general and Lao-tzu in particular in order to enhance the prestige and authority of the ruling Li family, who traced their lineal descent back to Lao-tzu himself.[140] But while earlier T'ang rulers exercised a politically prudent measure of caution in their patronage of the Taoist church, Hsüan-tsung was relatively unrestrained in his partisan support of Taoist interests. Hsüan-tsung's reign was marked by a mounting imperial preoccupation with Taoist concerns, manifest in part through the active promotion of the *Tao-te ching* among all strata of society.

Historical sources provide ample testimony of the value placed on the *Tao-te ching* by Hsüan-tsung's court. When the emperor first summoned the Shang-ch'ing patriarch Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen to court in 721, for example, the initial request made of the patriarch was that he make copies in three different scripts of the *Tao-te ching*. The three texts were then engraved on stelae and erected in the Ching-lung temple 景龍觀, in order that the classic be preserved for posterity. Four years later the *Tao-te ching* was again engraved on a stele, this time in the emperor's own hand, and erected in Lao-tzu's temple in Po-chou 亳州 (Benn 1977:88, 112).

Such activities may appear to be mere ceremonial gestures, but the same cannot be said of a succession of imperial edicts that gave the *Tao-te ching* a prominent place on the examination curriculum. Such a policy did not, in fact, originate with Hsüan-tsung. The *Tao-te ching* had been a compulsory subject of study for the state examinations since 678, and it remained so until 693, when it was removed by Empress Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天 (r. 690–705) in her effort to promote Buddhism and curb the growing power of the Taoists.[141] With the overthrow of the empress in 705, the *Tao-te ching* was reinstated on the curriculum. However, Hsüan-tsung is responsible for progressively elevating the position of the *Tao-te ching* until it came to occupy a central place on the examination roster.

In 719 the *Tao-te ching* figured in a controversy at court concerning the selection of commentaries to be used for examination purposes, with the result that the commentary by Wang Pi replaced that of Ho-shang Kung 河上公.[142] Up until this time the *Tao-te ching* was still one classic among many, but this was soon to change:

> From 720 onwards the [*Tao-te ching*] and its author were to be singled out for increasing attention to stand eventually at the head of a whole new branch of state-sponsored scholarship and ritual. Thus in 730 we find imperially-sponsored lectures based on Lao-tzu's text taking place at court. In 732 two more copies of the *Tao-te ching* were engraved on stone, together with an entirely new commentary under Hsüan-tsung's name, whilst in 733 the emperor ordered that a copy of the classic should be kept in every home, and that in the examinations questions on the Confucian *Shang-shu* and *Lun-yü* should be decreased to make way for questions on the *Tao-te ching*. Next, in 735, an official sub-commentary was promulgated also, again under the emperor's name. Then, again in 735, a priest named Ssu-ma Hsiu requested that the text with Hsüan-tsung's commentary should be engraved on stone at all places in the capital and elsewhere where Taoist rituals were performed on behalf of the state. Honors such as these had never been accorded any text, Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian, at any time in the past. (Barrett 1996:56)

In order to educate young scholars in the Taoist classics, the emperor founded the Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh 崇玄學 (Academy of the Revered Mystery) in 741 and at the same time instituted the *tao-chü* 道舉 (examination on Taoism) in an attempt to establish a Taoist counterpart to the system of imperially sponsored Confucian schools and examinations. The new Taoist academies were to be devoted primarily to a curriculum in Taoist classics, and Taoist scholars would be

given precedence over their Confucian rivals in competition for certain government posts.[143]

The Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh was not simply another imperial academy situated in the capital but rather comprised an entire system of schools, with branches established in districts (*chou* 州) and subdistricts (*hsien* 縣) throughout the empire. According to the edict of 741 establishing the Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh: "An equitable and harmonious figure for enrollment [in these schools] will be fixed within the statutory limits for local school enrollment. Students are directed to study the *Tao-te ching*, *Chuang-tzu*, *Wen-tzu*, and *Lieh-tzu*. After the course of study has been completed graduates will be sent to the Department of State Affairs in accordance with regulations governing the recommendation of local candidates for capital examination" (Benn 1977:257). In 742 the court took the step of removing questions pertaining to the Taoist classics from the *ming-ching* 明經 and *chin-shih* 進士 examinations. This move served to elevate the status and importance of the Ch'ung-hsüan academies and the *tao-chü* examination in the T'ien-pao 天寶 era (742–756), since they were rendered the only avenue for those who wished to pursue a government career through a course of Taoist study. It did not mean, however, that the *Tao-te ching* could be ignored by students in Confucian schools. An edict issued by the court as early as 726, declaring that every household in the country was to own a copy of Lao-tzu's work, was still in force, and in the atmosphere that prevailed in the latter part of Hsüan-tsung's reign, aspiring scholars of whatever persuasion could not afford to neglect the Taoist classics.[144]

The final step in the exaltation of the *Tao-te ching* took place in 745, when the court decreed that it was to be ranked first among the classics.[145] Yet this decree was merely one manifestation of the zealous promotion of Taoism characteristic of Hsüan-tsung's later years. Such promotion included the building of Taoist temples, the sponsorship of Taoist ordinations, support for copying Taoist scriptures, the distribution of icons of Lao-tzu, and the promotion of Lao-tzu worship. These efforts culminated in 749 with the installation of Lao-tzu as the supreme deity in the state cult: an imperial edict was issued that ordered images of Confucius in the T'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮 in Ch'ang-an and the T'ai-wei kung 太微宮 in Lo-yang to be placed in a subordinate position adjacent to images of Lao-tzu.[146]

As a result of this unprecedented patronage, Taoist scholars advanced rapidly in schools and academies and were elevated to govern-

ment positions of considerable importance. Consequently, much of the Taoist scholarship of the first half of the T'ang was produced not by members of the ordained Taoist priesthood, much less by Taoist recluses, but by the gentrified class of scholar-officials working at court:

> Of the seventy works on the *Tao-te ching*, *Chuang Tzu*, and *Lieh Tzu*, known to have been written by authors living in the period from the founding of the T'ang through Hsüan-tsung's reign, thirty-nine were authored by twenty-five officials. This group included two chief ministers, two imperial secretaries, and sixteen officials who held teaching or academic posts (eleven of the latter served in Hsüan-tsung's administration). Statutes which required students in public schools to learn the *Tao-te ching* and examination candidates to answer questions on it undoubtedly contributed to stimulating interest in the texts of Hsüan-hsüeh among intellectuals and that, in turn, led to deeper study and annotations of the works. (Benn 1977:125)

Imperial interests lay in promoting Taoism not so much as an arcane ritual tradition devoted to alchemy, spiritual gymnastics, and arcane mysteries, but rather as an intellectual alternative to Buddhist and Confucian philosophy, ethics, and cosmology. Government efforts met with considerable success in the creation of what Barrett has called "spiritualized gentry Taoism." Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen might be viewed as a product of this development, as many of his more popular tracts, including the well-known *Tso-wang lun*, seem to be intended for a general literati audience rather than for the Taoist clergy.[147] In the context of this gentrified Taoism one can better understand the nondenominational style of Taoist exegesis, laden with Buddhist borrowings, subsumed under the label "Twofold Mystery." The scriptures and commentaries associated with Twofold Mystery authors would have been particularly attractive to the scholar-officials at court, who, when contemplating the sublime mysteries, preferred the comfort of their elegantly appointed parlors to the austerities of a remote mountain retreat.

With the death of Hsüan-tsung, support for Taoism continued but not at the lavish levels previously seen. Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756–762) followed the policies of his predecessor in favoring Taoism, although the following emperor, Tai-tsung 代宗 (r. 762–779), inclined toward Buddhism, and Te-tsung 得宗 (r. 779–805), perhaps learning from the mistakes of the past, appears to have been reluctant to favor either tradition. The *Tao-te ching* was placed on the regular examination curriculum once again in 785, only to be removed in 796, this time because the emperor supposedly agreed with a suggestion that

such a sacrosanct text should not play a role in the mundane business of the state examinations (Barrett 1996:77). This more modest level of Taoist patronage continued into the following century.

From this brief historical overview emerge two important facts concerning the period in which the *Treasure Store Treatise* was composed: first, the *Tao-te ching* enjoyed imperial favor, assuming a central role in the curriculum for aspiring scholar-officials; and second, under court patronage, a nondenominational literary and gentrified Taoism emerged to rival the court Juists and gentry Buddhists.

What does this say about the *Treasure Store Treatise*? Given the fact that virtually nothing is known about the identity or location of the text's author, one can only speculate. If the Twofold Mystery texts and the works of Taoists like Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen represent a concerted, if not self-conscious, attempt to forge a gentry Taoism that could compete with Buddhism, then the *Treasure Store Treatise*, along with the similar early-Ch'an compositions discussed above, might represent a Buddhist response. Rather than arguing the superiority of the Buddhist path or Buddhist doctrine, the *Treasure Store Treatise* integrates elements borrowed from the Taoist classics, notably the *Tao-te ching*, into Chinese Buddhist discourse, declaring all such doctrines to be expressions of a single truth. It would be a mistake, however, to characterize the result as a species of Buddho-Taoist syncretism, since the truth expressed is, according to the Buddhist version, a Buddhist truth. But while the appropriation of Taoist rhetoric may have furthered the cause of Buddhism among literati in the T'ang, it also put a Taoist "spin" on a Buddhist message. There is little doubt that the large-scale incorporation of Taoist material into works associated with early Ch'an—notably the *Treasure Store Treatise* and works from the Ox Head school—facilitated the ideological developments that culminated in the full-blown Ch'an of the following era. As has often been noted, doctrines characteristic of Ch'an—such as "not relying on words and letters," "direct pointing," "seeing original nature," and "sudden awakening"—all have Taoist antecedents and might be viewed as resulting from the Taoist "contamination" of Chinese Mahāyāna. This appropriation of Taoist material raises the issue of syncretism discussed briefly in the introduction—the manner in which diverse religious traditions mutually influence and transform one another. Rather than dealing with this issue in the abstract, I will now turn to a cogent example of how Buddhism was inexorably, if unintentionally, "sinified," in the very act of rendering it in a Chinese idiom.

2

Chinese Buddhism and the Cosmology of Sympathetic Resonance

Bernard is right. The pathogen is nothing; the terrain is everything.
—Louis Pasteur on his deathbed

In my introduction I argued that the master narrative on which the study of Chinese Buddhism is based and the ubiquitous notion of "syncretism" often mask an essentialist conception of religious history—a reduction of complex social and ideological networks to interactions among discrete teachings, lineages, and schools. Categories such as Indian Buddhism, T'ang Ch'an, Chinese Pure Land, Chinese Tantra, and Twofold Mystery Taoism do not denote historical entities, much less institutions, in any simple sense. Each of these labels came into use long after the historical phenomenon to which it purportedly refers, and each term served (and sometimes continues to serve) multiple institutional and ideological interests that impinge on our understanding of Chinese religious history at every turn. The challenge is to heighten our awareness of, and when possible to mitigate our reliance on, such questionable taxonomies in our attempts to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in China.

My point of departure in the present chapter is the impact of early Chinese cosmology on medieval Chinese representations of Buddhism. Specifically, I will focus on the late Chou and early Han notions of sympathetic resonance and the manner in which this enduring metaphysical postulate informed the Chinese understanding of the nature of buddhahood and the logic of Buddhist practice.

The somewhat nebulous notion of sinification covers vast ground. At times Buddhist elements were adopted into native Chinese traditions in such a seemingly haphazard and superficial manner that the designation "Buddhist" is rendered all but meaningless. Wu Hung has argued that this is true of the buddha-like figures appropriated by Shang-ch'ing Taoists in the third and fourth centuries.[1] If the use of

Indian Buddhist iconography to represent Taoist deities can be considered one end of the sinification spectrum, the other end can be found in the fully developed exegetical traditions of the Sui and T'ang periods. T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen commentaries bear witness to a sophisticated engagement with Indian Mahāyāna dialectic, epistemology, and soteriology, based primarily on textual materials. Needless to say, much of what goes under the rubric of Chinese Buddhism falls somewhere between these two extremes. Yet even the developed schools of the Sui and T'ang are far from straightforward transcriptions of Indian thought. Many of the metaphysical assumptions, religious attitudes, modes of reasoning, and "forms of life" characteristic of medieval Chinese Buddhist monasticism were far removed from Indic prototypes.

It is difficult to overemphasize the pervasive force of classical cosmology on virtually all aspects of premodern Chinese thought. Notions such as sympathetic resonance or stimulus-response (*kan-ying* 感應), pattern or underlying principle (*li* 理), vital energies or pneuma (*ch'i* 氣), intrinsic nature (*hsing* 性), and sagehood (*sheng* 聖) exercised a strong and persistent influence in the areas of alchemy, astronomy, calendric science, medicine, and government throughout medieval times. It should not be surprising to find these classical theories informing the Chinese understanding of Buddhist doctrine and ritual as well. The Chinese may have adopted Indian formulations of the path and engaged in Indian practices, but, as I shall show, the precise relationship between practice and attainment, or means and ends, continued to be understood in indigenous terms.

This chapter begins with an overview of early Chinese cosmology, focusing on what Needham has called "correlative thinking" and the related notion of sympathetic resonance. Fortunately, this topic has been the subject of numerous Western language studies, so a brief overview of the literature should suffice. I will then proceed to a detailed discussion of the influence of correlative cosmology on the evolution of Chinese Buddhism.[2]

The Five Phases and Correlative Thinking

The Chinese conception of the universe as an interconnected harmonious whole finds expression in theories concerning the cyclic progression of the five phases (*wu-hsing* 五行) and the *yin* and *yang* as well as in the elaborate prescriptions pertaining to the ritual life of the

court.[3] The universe, according to this view, is in a state of continual motion and flux. The patterns of change are the result of the cyclic interactions of the five phases and the forces (or vital energies, *ch'i* 氣) of *yin* and *yang*, which tend naturally in the direction of rhythmic balance and harmony. Humans do not stand apart from the natural universe but rather constitute a fundamental and integral part of the whole. The relationships manifest in the patterns of the night sky are reproduced in the bureaucratic structure of government as well as in the internal structure of the human organism. The regular movements of the heavens accord with the changes of the seasons, the rise and fall of dynasties, the rhythms of the biosphere, and patterns of victory and defeat in war. Everything moves to the beat of the same cosmic drummer, whose syncopated rhythms are captured and can be deciphered in the patterns of lines in the *I ching* oracle.

Joseph Needham seems to have been the first to employ the metaphor of the "organism" to capture the holistic Chinese view of a single, interdependent universe, and the "organismic" model has been widely accepted and employed by Western sinologists ever since.[4] In order to bring Chinese cosmology into better focus, Needham drew a sharp contrast between the Chinese vision of organic unity and Western conceptions of invariant "laws of nature": "The Chinese world-view depended upon a totally different line of thought [than that of the West]. The harmonious cooperation of all beings arose, not from the orders of a superior authority external to themselves, but from the fact that they were all parts in a hierarchy of wholes forming a cosmic pattern, and what they obeyed were the internal dictates of their own natures" (1951:230).

The organismic view entails the notion that localized phenomena affect the state of the whole, and the state of the whole is reflected in local phenomena. This holistic model was much more than an abstract metaphysical hypothesis; it could be observed, tested, and applied in the fields of politics, divination, and the arts.

Tradition holds that Tsou Yen 鄒衍 (ca. 250 B.C.), the father of the so-called Naturalists (Needham's rendering of *yin-yang chia* 陰陽家), originated the five-phase/*yin-yang* system, while Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (179–104 B.C.?) is credited with turning this system into a full-fledged cosmology.[5] The fundamental ingredients of correlative thought, however, are found scattered throughout the Chou classics and clearly predate Tsou Yen. The earliest extant literary references to the five phases are found in the *Hung-fan* 洪範 (Great Plan) chap-

ter of the *Shang-shu* 尚書 (Book of Documents). The dating of this chapter has been a subject of some controversy (as is true of all the chapters of the *Shang-shu*), but most would agree that the *Hung-fan* is a post-Confucian work that predates the second century B.C.[6] Most of the characteristic elements of the later, fully developed five-phase system can be traced to a few scattered references in the *Hung-fan* such as the following:

> I have heard that of old time Kun dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. . . . Of the five elements—The first is named water; the second, fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; the fifth, earth. The nature of water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and to be straight; of metal, to obey and to change; while the virtue of earth is seen in seed-sowing and ingathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which obeys and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and ingathering comes sweetness.[7]

Mention of the five phases can also be found in the *Kan-shih* 甘誓 (Oration at Kan) chapter of the same text, which further connects the harmonious well-being of the state to the fulfillment of ritual duty on the part of the ruler: "The prince of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements, and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end the favor it has shown to him" (Legge 1961:3.153).

Vitaly Rubin has put forward the speculative but nonetheless cogent thesis that the theory of the five phases was originally independent from the notion of *yin-yang* (Rubin 1982). Rubin designates the early five-phase scheme outlined in the *Hung-fan* a "primitive classification scheme" à la Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss. According to Rubin's reading of the *Shang-shu*, the five phases originally constituted a spatial model as opposed to the temporal model of the cyclic activity of *yin* and *yang*. The system of repeating five-phase cycles that became popular in the Han would then be the result of the synthesis of the two systems by Tsou Yen and his followers.

The few remaining fragments from Tsou Yen's work take the *Hung-fan* a step further in claiming that each of the five phases (earth, wood, metal, fire, water) comes to dominate in turn by conquering the one preceding. This cyclic pattern is manifest in the succession of dynasties, each of which bears the characteristics of the phase (*hsing*) with which it is associated. The Han period saw the proliferation of numerous

variations in both the sequence itself and the manner in which the progression was understood. Eberhard has shown that of a total of thirty-six possible sequences, sixteen are actually found in the Han and pre-Han texts at his disposal (although two of the sequences, "mutually producing" and "mutually overcoming," became more or less standard).[8] In addition, the five phases were correlated with innumerable other groupings of five, including the five seasons, five cardinal points, five tastes, five smells, five musical notes, five planets, five ministries, five colors, five instruments, five grains, five sacrifices, five organs, five emotions, and so on; Eberhard lists over a hundred sets, which vary significantly from text to text.[9] It is apparent that we are not dealing with a single theory, but rather with a mode of theorizing, one that was not without its detractors. Yet it proved tremendously influential not only in later Juist and Taoist thought but also in Buddhist exegesis. (The proliferation of five-tiered *p'an-chiao*, or "tenet classification," schemes is but one Chinese Buddhist innovation that suggests itself here.)[10]

This tendency to analyze the world in terms of a delimited number of natural categories or classes (*lei* 類) became one of the hallmarks of Chinese cosmological thought. The translation of *lei* as "natural category" or "class," however, is unfortunate if unavoidable, as *lei*, like *hsing* (phase), is more an active force than a static category. As Munakata observes: "Every existence, substantial as well as phenomenal, is a product of a certain combination of the basic forces of *yin* and *yang*. Thus it is very natural to think that a thing or a phenomenon is at once a physical being and a force which interacts with other forces."[11]

One striking characteristic of the Chinese system is the manner in which such categories and the objects within categories are related to each other by virtue of their position within a fixed sequence. Referred to as "coordinative" and "correlative thinking" by Needham and "categorical thinking" by Bodde, it is here that the Chinese penchant for finding repeating patterns and order throughout the cosmos is most apparent.[12] Bodde elegantly summarizes categorical thinking as follows:

> Among items belonging to a common category, a particular affinity exists between those having the same relative position within their respective sequences. For example, the property common to such diverse items as fire, summer, south, bitter taste, burning smell, heat, the planet Mars, feathered creatures, beans, the hearth sacrifice, the

> lungs, the tongue, joy and many more, is that each of them is number two within its particular sequence of five. Affinities of this kind should be thought of as functioning more along lines of spontaneous response (the response of one stringed instrument to another the same in pitch) or of mutual attraction (the attraction between iron and the lode stone), than of mechanical impulsion (the impact of one billiard ball upon another).
>
> It is evident that such correlations not only cut across the usual categories of time and space, the abstract and the concrete, but also bridge the apparent gap between the human and the natural worlds. These two worlds, in fact, actually merge to form a single continuum, the halves of which are so closely interwoven that the slightest pull or strain on the one spontaneously induces corresponding pull or strain on the other. (1981a:351–352)

Sympathetic Resonance

The *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* records a most interesting, although probably apocryphal, exchange between the Buddhist monk Hui-yüan 慧遠 (332–416) and Yin Chung-k'an 殷仲堪 (d. 399/400): "Yin Chung-k'an once asked the monk Hui-yüan: 'What is the essence of the *I ching*?' Hui-yüan replied: 'Stimulus-response 感 is the essence of the *I ching*.' Yin said: 'When the bronze mountain collapsed in the west and the numinous bell 靈鐘 responded 應 in the east, is that [what you mean by] the *I ching*?' Hui-yüan smiled without answering."[13]

This passage refers to a story extant in at least two versions. According to the biography of Fan Ying 樊英 found in the *Hou-han shu* 後漢書 (Book of the Later Han Dynasty, 112a.14b–17a), during the reign of Han Shun-ti (r. 126–144) a bell below the emperor's hall sounded of itself. Fan Ying explained: "Min Mountain in Shu (Szechwan) has collapsed. Mountains are mothers in relation to bronze. When the mother collapses, the child cries." In due time Shu reported that indeed a mountain had collapsed, and the time of the collapse matched precisely the time the bell had sounded. Another version of the story has a palace bell ringing by itself for three days and nights during the reign of Han Wu-ti (r. 140–187 B.C.). An astrologer explained: "Bronze is the child of the mountains, and mountains the mother of bronze. Speaking in terms of the *yin* and *yang*, the child and mother are responding to each other. I'm afraid some mountain is about to collapse, and that's why the bell is first crying out." News of the collapse of a mountain more than twenty *li* distant arrived after three days (Mather 1976:123–124).

The spontaneous response of the bronze bell to the collapse of the bronze mountain many *li* distant is an apt illustration of the principle of *kan-ying*, "stimulus-response" or "sympathetic resonance." *Kan-ying* is a mode of seemingly spontaneous response (although not in the sense of "uncaused") natural in a universe conceived holistically in terms of pattern and interdependent order. Resonance is the mechanism through which categorically related but spatially distant phenomena interact. It would seem that the development of correlative systems preceded the notion of sympathetic resonance, and Henderson has argued that the former need not entail the latter; that is, not all correlated phenomena resonate with each other (1984:22–25). Be that as it may, by the Han the notion of resonance was explicitly used to explain or rationalize the mechanism behind the elaborate system of correlated categories generally known as five-phase thought.

The notion of sympathetic resonance is deceptively simple: objects belonging to the same category or class spontaneously resonate with each other just as do two identically tuned strings on a pair of zithers. One of the earliest references to the resonant behavior of musical instruments—no doubt the single most persuasive demonstration of the principle of resonance—appears in the *Chuang-tzu*: "[The Master] tuned two lutes, placed one in the hall, and the other in an inner room. When he struck the *kung* note on one lute, the *kung* on the other lute sounded; when he struck the *chüeh* note, the other *chüeh* note sounded—the pitch of the two instruments was in perfect accord."[14]

The phenomenon of sympathetic resonance between pairs of stringed instruments is similarly noted in a number of influential Han texts, including the *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子, the *Ch'u tz'u* 楚辭 (Songs of Ch'u), and the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü).[15] The principle behind the phenomenon is explicitly articulated and generalized in the *Wen-yen* 文言 commentary to the first hexagram of the *I ching*: "Things with the same tonality resonate together 同聲相應; things with the same material force seek out one another. Water flows to where it is wet; fire goes toward where it is dry. Clouds follow the dragon; wind follows the tiger. The sage bestirs himself, and all creatures look to him. What is rooted in Heaven draws close to what is above; what is rooted in Earth draws close to what is below. Thus each thing follows its own kind 則各從其類也."[16]

In addition to the behavior of musical instruments, the mating behavior of animals, in which "like attracts like," served as yet another illustration of the principle of sympathetic resonance. This behav-

ior is elegantly expressed in the poem *Miu chien* 謬諫 (Reckless Remonstrance) in the *Ch'u tz'u*: "Like sounds harmonize together; Creatures mate with their own kind. The flying bird cries out to the flock; The deer calls, searching for his friends. If you strike *kung*, then *kung* responds; If you hit *chüeh*, then *chüeh* vibrates. The tiger roars, and the wind of the valley comes; The dragon soars, and the radiant clouds come flying."[17]

With the writings of Tung Chung-shu, the notion of resonance is elevated to a full-fledged cosmological theory, elucidated in chapter 57 of his *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露 titled "Mutual Activation of Like Categories" (*T'ung-lei hsiang-tung* 同類相動).[18]

> If water is poured on level ground, it will avoid the parts which are dry and move toward those that are wet. If [two] identical pieces of firewood are exposed to fire, the latter will ignore the damp and ignite the dry one. All things reject what is different [to themselves] and follow what is akin. Thus it is that if [two] *ch'i* are similar, they will coalesce; if notes correspond, they resonate. The experimental proof of this is extraordinarily clear. Try tuning musical instruments. The *kung* note or the *shang* note struck upon one lute will be answered by the *kung* or *shang* notes from other stringed instruments. They sound by themselves. This is nothing miraculous but the Five Notes being in relation; they are what they are according to Numbers [whereby the world is constructed].
>
> [Similarly] lovely things summon others among the class of lovely things; repulsive things summon others among the class of repulsive things. This arises from the complementary way in which a thing of the same class responds—as for instance if a horse whinnies another horse whinnies in answer, and if a cow lows another cow lows in response.[19]

Tung Chung-shu goes beyond simply invoking resonance as the mainspring behind correlative schemes; he explains the phenomenon as effected through the agency or medium of *ch'i*, subtle material forces or ethers that pervade the cosmos and enliven all things. In so doing, Tung Chung-shu may well have been drawing on early traditions that correlated the "six *ch'i*" with the five tastes, the five colors, the five sounds, and so on.[20]

> When Heaven is about to make the *yin* rain down, men fall sick; that is, there is a movement prior to the actual event. It is the *yin* beginning its complementary response 相應. Also when Heaven is about to make the *yin* rain down, men feel sleepy. This is the *ch'i* of the *yin*. . . . Heaven has the *yin* and *yang*, and so has man. When the *yin ch'i* of Heaven and Earth begins [to dominate], the *yin ch'i* of man responds by taking the lead also. Or if the *yin ch'i* of man begins to advance, the *yin ch'i* of

> Heaven and Earth must by rights respond to it by rising also. Their Tao is one. Those who are clear about this [know that] if rain is to come, then the *yin* must be activated and its influence set to work. If the rain is to stop, then the *yang* must be activated and its influence set to work. [In fact] there is no reason at all for assuming anything miraculous [lit. connected with spirits, *shen* 神] about the causation and onset of rain, though [indeed] its rationale [*li* 理] is profoundly mysterious.[21]
>
> It is not only the two *ch'i* of the *yin* and the *yang* which advance and retreat according to their categories. Even the origins of the varied fortunes, good and bad, of people behave in the same way. There is no happening that does not depend for its beginning upon something prior, to which it responds because [it belongs to the same] category, and so moves.[22]

The *Huai-nan-tzu* is second only to the writings of Tung Chung-shu as a source for sympathetic-resonance theory in the Han period. The notion of resonance underlies the work as a whole but is found discussed in detail in chapter 6, *Lan-ming hsün* 覽冥訓 (Peering into the Obscure). Charles Le Blanc has interpreted this chapter as an attempt to synthesize two kinds of Taoism—the contemplative and the purposive—through the cosmology of resonance (*kan-ying*). In the scheme of the *Huai-nan-tzu*, the phenomenon of resonance is explained as a vestige of the common origin of all things in the Tao. Resonance therefore points the way back to the origin: "*Kan-ying* is the persistent affinity and attraction of things that were originally one in the *Tao*, but that became separated in time and space, when the world began; through mutual stimulus and response, through affinitive resonance, things tend to return to their original state" (Le Blanc 1978:321).

The descriptions of resonance in the *Huai-nan-tzu* are accordingly cast in a somewhat "mystical" rhetoric reminiscent of the *Tao-te ching*. Nonetheless, the text is most effective at evoking the ethos of the resonant Han cosmos:

> The mutual response of things belonging to the same category is mysterious and extremely subtle. Knowledge cannot explain it, nor discussion unravel it. Thus, when the eastern wind arises, clear wine overflows. When the silkworm exudes fresh silk, the string of the *shang* note snaps. Something has stirred 感 them. When a drawing [of the moon] is traced in ashes, the moon's halo becomes incomplete [in accordance with the drawing]. When a whale dies, brush-stars [comets] appear. Something has activated them.[23]

The sympathetic resonance among things of the same category is referred to in later literature as *kan-lei* 感類 (sympathy between things of like kind). This term can be traced to Wang Ch'ung 王充 (A.D. 27–

97?) of the Han,[24] although expressions such as *chao-lei* 召類 (inviting those of the same category) or *i-lei hsiang-tung* 依類相動 (mutual interaction in accordance with one's category) frequently appear in late Chou and early Han writings referring to the same principle (Munakata 1983:107). Needham believed that such concepts were amenable to an analysis along the lines of Frazer's theory of magic, that is, his "law of similarity," which states simply that like produces like, and his "law of contiguity or contagion," which holds that things having come into physical contact continue to act on one another after they are separated (Needham 1956:280).

The history of the term "*lei*" 類 gives an indication of the antiquity of ideas of holism and sympathetic resonance in China. The term appears in the Chou referring to a sacrificial ritual that itself can be traced to the Shang.[25] Munakata, using evidence from both Shang oracle-bone inscriptions and Chou texts, concludes that this sacrifice was directed toward the deity Shang-ti and performed at *chiao* 郊 altars located in the vicinity of the royal court. It appears to have been a means of reporting to Shang-ti or requesting favors in conjunction with military campaigns and natural calamities. Most significant, it was used not only to invoke but also to exert control over powerful celestial forces (Munakata 1983:109–110).

The mechanism behind the *lei* sacrifice is akin to that of early rainmaking rituals such as that described in the *Ch'iu-yü* 求雨 section of Tung Chung-shu's *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*.[26] Rainmaking often involved ritual exposure, either of a woman as is seen in Shang and Chou sources, a shaman (*wu* 巫) as was more common in the Han, or a Buddhist or Taoist monk or even the emperor, as is recorded throughout medieval times (Schafer 1951). In such ritual exposure the supplicant (or victim) is exposed to the sun, sometimes naked, thereby subjecting his or her body to the same adverse effects suffered by the parched earth in times of drought. From the Six Dynasties down through the Sui and T'ang, one also finds examples of self-immolation as part of rainmaking rituals, presumably to exaggerate the effects of simple exposure to the sun's heat. Schafer believes that such rituals were attempts to coerce the rain gods by eliciting their compassion and sympathy. In reference to later examples of burning the body, Schafer claims that "there is an explicit tendency to regard the burning not so much as a magical rite but as self-sacrifice for the appeasement of the spiritual world.… It is in this direction that human sacrifice has developed all over the world, from a drama compelling Nature into a personal act of atonement" (1951:141).

There is ample evidence that the potency of rainmaking rituals in the Chou and Han periods was understood in terms of resonance between things of like kind. The early rituals featured objects related to water and dragons, that is, objects belonging to the category of *yin*. Tung Chung-shu describes "the use of a platform on which trees were planted, the so-called 'toad pond,' clay dragons, animal sacrifices, prayers, and dancing" (Munakata 1983:110). The colors of the robes, the size of the implements, and the number of ritual components were all coordinated with the time of year, in accordance with the five phases. The principle of *kan-lei* is seen operating throughout and served to maximize the potency of the ritual in order to elicit a response from heaven. Needham comments that the early *wu* shamans, who danced naked in a ring of fire under the hot sun, would have sweated profusely, rendering such rituals a form of sympathetic magic: "Drops of sweat, it was hoped, would induce drops of rain" (1956:135).

The sketchy but suggestive accounts of early rainmaking techniques are ambiguous concerning the precise workings of *kan-lei*. Sympathetic resonance among categorically related elements can be interpreted in either anthropomorphic or naturalistic/mechanistic terms. Schafer tends toward the anthropomorphic: the suffering of the exposed priest or sacrificial victim impresses upon heaven the pain of heat and drought. Heaven is moved (or coerced) to respond compassionately and cause rain to fall. Needham takes a more naturalistic view and understands rainmaking as an exercise in the manipulation of cosmic forces along the lines of five-phase theory and alchemy. And Schwartz notes that Chinese "organismic thinking" readily lends itself to either interpretation:

> All "organismic" thinking in China remains quite capable of incorporating [the manifold numinous spirits and deities present in nature]. Built into the system, in fact, is the notion that the indwelling spirits of mountains and rivers and the ancestral spirits must continue to be the recipients of the ritual honors which are their due. Indeed, if they do not receive proper ritual attention, this may again disorder the harmony of the entire system. The performance of the proper sacrifice to a mountain spirit may be simultaneously regarded as "an act of religious piety" toward the spirit or as a "magical" act designed to maintain the geomantic harmony of the spatial world. (1985:372)

The seeming ambiguity is in part a reflection of the fragmentary nature of the sources, which represent a variety of local cultures over a vast spread of history. But the ambiguity may also be due to the application of a foreign and somewhat inappropriate distinction to

the data—specifically, the distinction between "anthropomorphic" and "naturalistic" perspectives. I will return to this issue below.

Rite and Ritual

Behind the rituals for making rain is the notion that drought, like floods and other natural calamities, is a consequence of the emperor's moral failings. Thus the *Hung-fan* chapter of the *Shang-shu* warns that excessive rain results from an emperor's wildness, excessive drought from arrogance, heat from indolence, cold from hasty judgment, and winds from stupidity.[27] The view that anomalies in the heavens, disturbances on earth, earthquakes, avalanches, sightings of unusual birds or animals, and other such "wonders" (*kuai* 怪) were a reflection of the behavior of the king has been termed "phenomenalism" by Western sinologists. The mechanism behind phenomenalism is explicitly articulated by Tung Chung-shu, who writes of the "interaction of heaven and man" (*t'ien-jen hsiang-kan* 天人相感). In chapter 11 of the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, Tung explains the etymology of the character *wang* 王 (king) as follows: "The ancients who devised our script fashioned three lines with another through their middle, calling it *wang*. The three lines are Heaven, Earth, and man. The line passing through their middle signifies the passage through them of the Way. If it is a matter of taking what is common to Heaven, Earth, and man and linking them by making that a reality, then who but a King is equal to such a task?"[28]

It was incumbent on the king to maintain the state of harmony between the human realm and nature by virtue of correct moral conduct and ritual behavior. This state was achieved through emulating the behavior of the ancients; the sages of old understood the structure of the cosmos, the patterns of change, and the forces guiding the cycles of heaven and earth. To conduct one's life in harmony with the underlying principles of the Way is to know *li* 禮 ("holy rite," in Fingarette's translation). According to the "Discussion of the Rites" (*Li lun* 禮論) chapter of the *Hsün-tzu* 荀子: "Through rites Heaven and earth join in harmony, the sun and moon shine, the four seasons proceed in order, the stars and constellations march, the rivers flow, and all things flourish; men's likes and dislikes are regulated and their joys and hates made appropriate. Those below are obedient, those above are enlightened; all things change but do not become disordered; only he who turns his back upon rites will be destroyed. Are they not wonderful indeed?"[29]

The classical understanding of *li* has little to do with Western conceptions of morality that entail a congruence between inner intention and outer activity.[30] *Li* is behavior that resonates with the flow of cosmic forces (*yin* and *yang*, *ch'i*, the five phases, and so on). As Needham explains:

> One would not appreciate the full force of the word *li* if one failed to recognize that the customs, usages and ceremonials which it summed up were not simply those which had empirically been found to agree with the instinctive feelings of rightness experienced by the Chinese people "everywhere under Heaven"; they were those which, it was believed, accorded with the "will" of Heaven, indeed with the structure of the universe. Hence the basic disquiet aroused in the Chinese mind by crimes or any disputes was because they were felt to be disturbances in the Order of Nature. (Needham 1951:14)

Thus the king's ritual conduct was more than a public enactment of social and ethical norms for others to emulate. According to the formulations of the Chou classics, the king occupies a pivotal position in the hierarchical structure of the cosmos, mediating between heaven and earth. His ritual life, consisting of a complex cycle of sacrifices and offerings, mirrored the passage of the constellations and planets through the heavens. "In the proper pavilion of the Ming T'ang 明堂 or Bright House, no less his dwelling-place than the temple of the universe, the emperor, clad in the robes of color appropriate to the season, faced the proper direction, caused the musical notes appropriate to the time to be sounded, and carried out all the other ritual acts which signified the unity of heaven and earth in the cosmic pattern" (Needham 1956:287). The emperor had to regulate not only his robes, but also his carriages, his horses, his food, and the dishes on which his food was served, according to season. Only the king possessed the ritual potency and power necessary to regulate changes in the seasons, the weather, and agricultural cycles.

The center of Chou ritual activity, according to the "Monthly Ordinances" (*Yüeh-ling* 月令) chapter of the *Li chi* 禮記, was the aforementioned *ming-t'ang*, or "hall of enlightenment."[31] Knowledge of the architecture of the Chou *ming-t'ang* was already lost by the Han, and Juist scholars, at the behest of emperors wishing to rebuild the edifice, argued over its appearance and dimensions down to the time of the Ming dynasty. It is clear, however, that the hall was intended to function as a sort of *maṇḍala*—a schematic replica of the structure of the cosmos. Granet observes that, according to the "Monthly Ordinances," the *ming-t'ang* plays "an essential role in the promulgation of the

calendar, which establishes at the same time the Space Order and the Time Order."[32] The king circulated through the *ming-t'ang*, moving from room to room according to the season, and through his ritual activities participated in the cycles of heaven. A Ming text, the *Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu* 明堂大道録 (Record of the Great Way of the Hall of Enlightenment), commenting on the "Monthly Ordinances," eloquently articulates this idealized image of the emperor:

> When the Ruler of Men came forth to direct and arrange the world, his throne was called Heaven's throne, the people were called Heaven's people. The important point in ordering their movements was that these should correspond with the signs of heaven, and accord with the heavenly seasons. Now, on examining this book, the *Yüeh-ling*, one finds that each month's beginning always fixes the ordered stages of such movement, the setting and rising of the sun and stars; and the central star is sought, so that the direction of the ruler's throne may be placed correctly.... Now the word *ti* 帝 is another term for *shen* 神, and indicates creative power in the king, and manifests the potency of his lordship.... Therefore the ruler of men should change the rooms of his abode, and of his position, in accord with the seasons; his carriage and horse-trappings must be of the correct color according to the seasons; even the minutia of his clothing, and the utmost detail of his food and utensils must be appropriate. Not one of these must fail to be in accordance with the position of the heavenly luminaries. These are the primary observances and duties of the ruler of men.[33]

The degree to which the prescriptions of the *Yüeh-ling* were actually followed by Chinese monarchs is not of concern here. As one might imagine, the idealized Chou model was emulated only sporadically, and then in an abbreviated and largely symbolic manner, through the successive reigns of medieval monarchs. Nonetheless, the conception of the king as embodying in his very person the patterns of heaven and earth continued to play an important part in the enduring conception of sagehood and the legitimation of power.

The Sage

"He who did not act yet ruled well, was he not indeed Shun? For what did he do? Nothing but maintain a respectful bearing with his face to the south" (*Analects* 15.5). This image of the sage-king Shun sitting reverently on his throne facing south, "doing nothing but leaving nothing undone," is the quintessential image of political and spiritual authority in China. Shun's perfection of the potency of nonaction (*wu-wei* 無爲) is one and the same as his perfection of the holy rites

(*li*). The rites are not merely the expression, manifestation, or embodiment of virtue. Rather, they are constitutive of it, since virtue consists in being literally in tune with the universe. Tung Chung-shu is explicit: "The sage, in his conduct of government, duplicates the movements of Heaven."[34] Through the choreography of the rites, the sage-king participates in the cosmic dance that both enacts and engenders the harmony of all under heaven. The sage need only perfect his ritual comportment to bring the whole into balance. "As for great men, in rectifying themselves they rectify [all] things" (*Mencius* 7A19).

The ideals incorporated into this early model of the sage-king included (1) the perfect embodiment of the Tao, manifest as the inner quiescence of nonaction that allowed the sage to flow with the natural transformation of things; and (2) ultimate moral, spiritual, and political authority, derived through the unique relationship the sage-king enjoys with heaven and the ancestors. This authority was legitimized through heaven's selection of the sage as one worthy of the mandate, a selection ratified through the tacit consent of the people.

The principle behind the potency of nonaction is, once again, sympathetic resonance. This principle is stated unambiguously in the *Huai-nan-tzu*, particularly in chapters 9 and 19, where *wu-wei* is explained as the source of the creative and transformative power of the sage-king. Nonaction is the means by which the sage-king attains perfect resonance between himself and the masses (Le Blanc 1978:58). The perfection of holy rite (*li*) and spontaneous nonaction are two sides of the same coin. According to Le Blanc: "[in the *Huai-nan-tzu*] *li* stands not for a formal code of etiquette or behavior that has intrinsic moral value and to which one must conform out of a sense of obligation, but rather it stands for a form which emerges as the spontaneous mutual response of people who participate in the same project" (1978:150–151).

This idealized model of the sage-king is as Taoist as it is Confucian, although Taoist sources tend to emphasize the otherworldly quiescence of nonaction as opposed to the this-worldly transformative power of *li*. The *T'ien-tao* 天道 chapter of the *Chuang-tzu* contains this passage:

> The sage is still not because he takes stillness to be good and therefore is still. The ten thousand things are insufficient to distract his mind—that is the reason he is still. Water that is still gives back a clear image of beard and eyebrows; reposing in the water level, it offers a measure to the great carpenter. And if water in stillness possesses such clarity, how

> much more must pure spirit. The sage's mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth, the glass of the ten thousand things. . . . Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction are the root of the ten thousand things. To understand them and face south is to become a ruler such as Yao was; to understand them and face north is to become a minister such as Shun was.[35]

Yet even the famed commentator Kuo Hsiang 郭象 felt that Chuang-tzu's vision of resonance was too narrow and self-centered. In the *Chuang-tzu chu* 莊子注 Kuo Hsiang claims that Confucius is actually superior to Chuang-tzu, because Chuang-tzu's mind responds only to his own needs. "He whose mind is [really] in a state of inaction then responds to any stimulus, and the response varies according to the season. Therefore he is cautious about speaking. The result is that he embodies the process of transformation, glides in conformity with all ages, and is not different from all things."[36] The true sage is the one who, transcending his own needs, responds to or resonates with all things.

The sage-king is thus free of intentionality; he remains inwardly quiescent while naturally responding to stimuli. Kuo Hsiang writes: "Being without conscious thought [the sage] mysteriously responds, and follows only the stimuli (which reach him). Floating he is like an unmoored boat which goes East or West without any personal [effort]."[37] Such a sage, in responding spontaneously to contingency, is not bound to conventional standards of morality. According to Mencius, "The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they be sincere, nor of his actions that they may be resolute—he simply speaks and does what is right."[38] Hsün-tzu is more graphic in his descriptions of the freedom of the sage, achieved through *li*: "He moves along with time; he bows or arches as the times change. [Fast or slow, curled or stretched], a thousand moves, ten thousand changes: his Way is one."[39] And again: "The Sage gives free reign to his desires, embraces his spontaneous dispositions, and all he controls is perfectly ruled. What need to force, to restrain—what danger could there be? Thus the *jen* person walks along the Way without purposive effort 無爲; the Sage walks along the Way without striving."[40]

In the *Hsün-tzu*, the spontaneous quality of the sage is referred to by the expression "responding to change" (*ying pien* 應變). The ability to respond naturally to things allows the sage to transform (*hua* 化) others. And the link between ritual self-cultivation, on the one hand, and the power to transform others and effect cosmic harmony, on the

other, is precisely the principle of resonance. According to *Mencius*: "Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad, above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way?"[41]

The question arose as to whether or not the sage's response to things of the world entailed an emotional response to other persons.[42] The dominant view among Han philosophers was that sages are indeed devoid of feelings or emotions (*sheng-jen wu-ch'ing* 聖人無情). Officials such as Liu Hsiang 劉向 (80–9 B.C.) portrayed the sage as a perfect image of heaven, wholly impartial and immune to the vicissitudes of the masses. Thus the sage Confucius was understood in terms of "divine impassivity" in contrast to his disciple Yen Hui 顏回, a virtuous one (*hsien* 賢), who did on occasion shed tears (Lai 1983:303).

The issue of the sage's inner emotional life, or lack of one, was a recurring topic of debate in literati and especially *ch'ing-t'an* 清談 circles: "Seng-i said to Wang, 'Does the sage have emotions, or not?' Wang replied: 'He does not.' Seng-i asked again: 'Is the sage like a pillar, then?' Wang said: 'He's like counting rods 籌算. Even though they themselves have no emotions, the one manipulating them does.'"[43]

The *hsüan-hsüeh* prodigy Wang Pi (226–249) disagreed, insisting that although the inner spiritual enlightenment (*shen-ming* 神明) of the sage renders him superior to others, his possession of the five emotions makes him one with others. "Because his emotions are equal with other men, he cannot be without grief and joy in responding to other beings. Thus the sage's emotions enable him to respond to other beings, without becoming *attached* to other beings."[44] The sage may grieve over the death of a loved one, but he is never "entangled" (*lei* 累) in his natural display of emotion (Lai 1983:303). To Wang Pi, the emotions of the sage are spontaneous manifestations of his nature, a nature that is nonactive and one with the Tao.

Popular Notions of Sympathetic Resonance

So far I have been focusing on the understanding of sympathetic resonance found in works of classical literature and scholarly exegesis. My reasons will become apparent below, as I examine the impact of these ideas on Chinese Buddhist thought. But I would not want to leave the impression that this is the only cultural domain in which to situate the notion of resonance. The rubric of *kan-ying* is just as

prevalent in so-called popular religious tracts, where it refers to the principle of tit-for-tat moral retribution—the belief that one's good and evil deeds will result in corresponding rewards and punishments.

While the notion of moral retribution (*pao* 報) meted out in this life or the next was indebted to Buddhist notions of karma and rebirth, in medieval times it emerged as a fundamental principle of Chinese popular religious belief and practice, irrespective of one's religious affiliation.[45] This doctrine was propagated through innumerable tales of miraculous retribution—variously styled *ling-yen* 靈驗, *ying-yen* 應驗, *ling-ying* 靈應, and so on—that "attested" (*yen* 驗) to the reality of the "supernatural" (*ling* 靈) and the inevitability of divine justice.[46] Such stories emphasized the need for moral reform through graphic and often entertaining descriptions of the rewards and punishments that await one in one's future life. The punishments suffered by sinners are often horrific, but the tales illustrate that it is never too late to mend one's ways, as one can expunge one's prior transgressions through meritorious acts.

According to these tales, the mechanism of retribution involves a vast celestial bureaucracy in charge of recording one's actions and overseeing the appropriate reward or punishment. While the precise structure of this Byzantine administration is not altogether clear, there is reference to comprehensive ledgers or case records (*an* 案) that are gathered and maintained by the "spirit recorders of the five paths" (*lu wu-tao shen* 録五道神) who work in the Heavenly Offices (*t'ien-ts'ao* 天曹; Gjertson 1989:136–137). At the time of death, the appropriate documents are transferred to the judges and denizens of the underworld, under the leadership of King Yama, who adjudicate the merit of each case and mete out punishment accordingly.[47] At the same time, the tales attest to the bureaucratic foibles of the process: celestial spirits responsible for maintaining records and overseeing retribution were known to make mistakes and could be influenced with timely gifts of cash, a fact that renders this popular notion of moral response somewhat removed from the more "mechanical" workings of *kan-ying* discussed above.[48]

The understanding of *kan-ying* as "divine retribution" is also central to a later genre of Sung and post-Sung popular religious texts known as *shan-shu* 善書 (moral tracts). Here too *kan-ying* refers to the principle of moral retribution, typically manifest as the shortening or lengthening of one's life (Brokaw 1991). The classic of this genre is a

Sung compilation known as the *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien* 太上感應篇 (T'ai-shang Tractate on Stimulus Response), one of the most widely circulated Taoist works in late imperial China.[49] As with the tales of miraculous retribution, here too the notion of retribution can be traced back to Han theories of resonance and response, by way of post-Han Taoist works such as the *Pao-p'u-tzu*, with an overlay of Buddhist karma theory.[50] But in the end the *Kan-ying p'ien* places responsibility for moral recompense in the hands of divine arbitrators rather than in the workings of an impersonal, naturally resonant cosmos: "In heaven there are also the Three Towers and the Lord of the North Bushel Star 三台北斗神君 who record a man's crimes and evil deeds. They reduce his lifespan by twelve-year units or hundred-day units according to this record. Inside a man's body there are the Three Worm Spirits 三尸神 who on every fifty-seventh day of the sixty-day cycle report a man's crimes and transgressions to the Heavenly Tribunal. On the last day of each month, the Kitchen God 竈神 also makes such a report."[51]

This understanding of *kan-ying* as divine retribution was neither new nor exclusively "popular." As mentioned above, from early on Chinese scholars tended to vacillate between naturalist and anthropomorphic views of the universe: where some saw spontaneous resonance, others saw divine retribution. The belief that natural phenomena could be read as portents—an important "practical" application of the doctrine of celestial and terrestrial resonances as exemplified in the naturalist writings of Tung Chung-shu—was conducive to a teleological view of heaven as acting by design.[52] Indeed, in texts such as the *Huai-nan-tzu*, it is often difficult to determine whether *t'ien* is an active agent or an abstract and impersonal principle. The teleological excesses and exaggerated anthropocentrism associated with "phenomenalism" engendered skeptical and iconoclastic reactions by generations of literati-scholars, from Wang Ch'ung in the Han to Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) in the Sung.[53] Yet such "rationalists" or "skeptics" had no argument with the principle of sympathetic resonance per se. The focus of their criticism was the overly anthropomorphized interpretation of sympathetic resonance that led to the "superstitious" belief in portents, spirits, and the magical efficacy of rites. I am not aware of a single instance in the medieval period in which the more naturalistic understanding of sympathetic resonance was subject to learned critique.

Twofold Mystery Taoism and Sympathetic Resonance

Works associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism discussed in the previous chapter contain detailed analyses of the phenomenon of sympathetic resonance. In the spirit of the *Huai-nan-tzu*, these works avoid both a crude anthropomorphism and a sterile naturalism. Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, one of the most important Twofold Mystery authors, devotes a section of his commentary on the *Lao-tzu* to a highly scholastic exposition of the phenomenon. Ch'eng proceeds by differentiating between two kinds of response: universal response (*t'ung-ying* 通應) and differential response (*pieh-ying* 別應). The former is that of heaven, which, from within the celestial residence (*hsüan-tu* 玄都), responds out of compassion to all without distinction. Differential response, in contrast, is a mode of response geared to specific stimuli (*pieh-kan* 別感). Into this second category falls the transmission of the *Tao-te ching* to Yin Hsi 尹喜 or the conversion of the barbarians by Lao-tzu.[54]

An even more elaborate parsing of *kan-ying* is found in section 35 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, titled "The Meaning of Stimulus Response" (*kan-ying i* 感應義).[55] Like the Buddhist texts examined below, this work depicts the sage as one who spontaneously and appropriately responds (*ying*) to stimuli, although cases of stimulus response between inanimate objects are also mentioned. The text enumerates six categories of stimulus and six of response, the former of which are grouped into three pairs. The first pair, "principal" (*cheng* 正) and "proximate" (or "ancillary," *fu* 附), is a distinction that rests on whether or not the stimulus is initiated directly by a self-aware mind or indirectly by an insentient object. The second pair, "universal" (*p'u* 普) and "preferential" (*p'ien* 偏), distinguishes between the universal stimulus that occurs at the beginning of a *kalpa* and the specific stimuli initiated by individuals as the need arises. The final pair rests on a distinction as to whether the stimulus is "manifest" (*hsien* 顯) or "hidden" (*yin* 隱). Responses are similarly sorted into six groups, namely: (1) the response of pneuma (*ch'i* 氣), specifically the primal pneuma (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣), which initiates all forms of sentient and nonsentient existence; (2) a response through "forms" (*hsing* 形), which occurred before the invention of writing; (3) the response in language (*wen* 文), which includes the teachings of the sages and masters; (4) the response of sages (*sheng* 聖), that is, the emergence of a sage-king in the world in times of social and moral decline; (5) the response of the worthies (*hsien* 賢), who preserve the way of the sages after the latter have passed from the world; and (6) "transmitted" response (*hsi* 襲), which refers

to the preservation of the way of the sages and worthies by the common person. The discussion of *kan-ying* concludes with a final fourfold distinction determined according to whether the agent and recipient of the stimulus are sentient or insentient. As an example of the third category—an insentient object stimulating a response in an insentient object—the text cites the case of the bell sounding at the collapse of the bronze mountain mentioned above.

A comprehensive analysis of sympathetic resonance would be well beyond the scope of this study, which is, after all, concerned with aspects of eighth-century Buddhist thought. My intention has been merely to indicate the conceptual scope and historical persistence of *kan-ying* cosmology. Indeed, from the time of the Han, dynastic histories typically included a chapter titled "Five Phases," which recorded occurrences of unusual phenomena or wonders (*kuai*) including earthquakes, avalanches, feather-rain, and the birth of two-headed chickens. The principle of sympathetic resonance was invoked to explain celestial portents, moral retribution, ritual efficacy, natural and astronomical cycles, political upheaval, and so on. It is, therefore, to be expected that the principle would similarly influence the Chinese understanding of Buddhist cosmology, philosophy, and monastic practice.

Matching Concepts

As discussed in the introduction, the issue of sinification—the question of how a "barbarian" religious tradition "conquered" China and how that tradition was transformed and domesticated in the process—has captured the imagination of generations of scholars in both Asia and the West. Discussions of sinification often begin with the lives of early Buddhist exegetes and the nature of their translations and commentaries. The shortcomings of these early Chinese Buddhist writings are viewed as the result of *ko-i* 格義, or "matching concepts," a spurious practice that supposedly involved the use of native Chinese terminology, culled primarily from Taoist classics, to express Buddhist concepts.[56] This practice was, according to traditional sources, abandoned rather early in the evolution of Chinese Buddhism, having been forcefully discredited by Tao-an (312–385).

For the scholar interested in the larger issue of sinification, *ko-i* is a red herring. The practice of elucidating Indian Buddhist concepts by drawing parallels with native systems of thought was ubiquitous

throughout the history of Buddhism in China; indeed, how was Buddhism to be understood without some recourse to the familiar? Yet the use of *ko-i* was repudiated as early as the fourth century. As Zürcher suggested years ago, *ko-i* must have referred to something more specific, such as the pairing of Buddhist numerical categories found in the older *dhyāna* and *abhidharma* literature with superficially similar Chinese numerical lists (1972:1.184). For example, early Chinese writers paired the five phases with the Buddhist *mahābhūta*s (translated as *hsing* 行), and the five constant virtues (*wu-ch'ang* 五常) were paired with the five lay precepts (Wright 1959:37). In any case, the few remaining textual references to *ko-i* are insufficient to reconstruct the meaning of the term fully.

Yet scholars continue to view "matching concepts" as emblematic of the process of sinification writ large.[57] As such they focus on how early scholar-monks, such as Tao-an and his disciple Hui-yüan, having come to an understanding of Indian Buddhist teachings, intentionally recast those teachings in a conceptual and literary idiom that was familiar and appealing to their Chinese audience. I would not want to minimize the significance of the intentional repackaging of Buddhism so as to render it palatable to native literati tastes. My immediate interest, however, lies rather in the process that logically precedes the intentional adaptation and domestication of Buddhism by Chinese apologists. I refer to the conceptual transformation that occurs in the initial act of transposing Indian concepts into the semiotic and cultural universe of China. The analysis of this transformation is notoriously difficult and elusive, involving as it does the conceit that scholars today are in a better position than were the medieval Chinese to deduce the manner in which they unwittingly misconstrued Indian materials. Moreover, discussions of the sinification of Buddhism have drawn some scholars into the dubious enterprise of describing "Chinese ways of thinking," "the Chinese mind," or "Chinese rationality." Needless to say, such essentialist notions impede rather than facilitate understanding. My present point of departure is the pervasive and enduring role played by early Chinese cosmology in sinitic representations of Buddhism.

There are numerous apparent parallels—both structural and functional—between Indian Buddhist and Chinese cosmological systems. Early Buddhist scriptures depict the universe as governed by impersonal laws or *dharma*, an idea whose roots lie in the notion of *ṛta* (cosmic order) of the early Vedas. Buddhist scriptures present the

Buddha as a product of just such impersonal forces: the time and manner of a buddha's appearance is predetermined in accordance with the ebb and flow of vast cosmic cycles (*mahākalpa*), and the time span in which his teachings endure (*buddhasāsana*) is similarly predetermined according to the nature of the *kalpa* in which he is born. This strand in Buddhist thought would seem to deemphasize the intentional aspects of Śākyamuni, rendering him a product of impersonal forces; it may have contributed to the doctrine that the true referent of the term "buddha" is not a buddha's transient body of flesh and blood but rather his eternal teachings. As the Buddha famously proclaimed: "Whoever sees the dharma sees me; whoever sees me sees the dharma."[58]

The "impersonalist" or "transpersonalist" understanding of buddha is brought to the fore in Mahāyāna buddhology, a buddhology that is sometimes misleadingly deemed docetic. According to Mahāyāna formulations, the "true embodiment" (*chen-shen* 眞身) of a buddha is the *dharmakāya* (*fa-shen* 法身, body of the dharma) itself. The corporeal buddha who walks the earth is merely an emanation of the impersonal *dharmakāya*, naturally responding to the needs of the age, the whole process being governed by cosmic law. The first fascicle of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* declares that there are one thousand billion buddhas, all with the same name, with sons and disciples of the same name, all born in Kapilavastu, and so on.[59]

The logical outcome of such speculation is the striking claim that the Buddha never spoke a word.[60] On the one hand, this notion might appear to be a mere metaphor for the ineffability of the absolute. Certainly this is how it comes across in the *Chung lun* 中論, the Chinese translation of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (Verses on the Middle Way): "Since all dharmas are empty, how could things be either bounded or unbounded? Both bounded and unbounded? Or neither bounded nor unbounded? What could be either the same or different? Permanent or impermanent? Both permanent and impermanent? Or neither permanent nor impermanent? All dharmas are ungraspable; so bring an end to all frivolous discourse. There are neither persons nor places, and nothing was ever taught by the Buddha."[61]

One might argue that such philosophical formulations were not intended to be taken literally. Yet later Mahāyāna sūtras would revel in this image of a transcendental and quiescent buddha, who spreads the dharma without ever uttering a word. The *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra*, for example, states:

> O Śāntamati, between the night in which he attained perfect Buddhahood and the night in which he attained parinirvana without remainder, the Tathāgata did not utter a sound. He did not speak, he does not speak, and he will not speak. But all sentient beings, with different dispositions and interests and in accordance with their aspirations, perceive the Tathāgata's diverse teaching as if it were coming forth [from the Tathāgata himself]. And each of them thinks, "The Lord is teaching the Dharma to me, and I am hearing the Lord teach the Dharma." But the Lord has no concept of this and makes no distinction. O Śāntamati, this is because the Tathāgata is free from all conceptual diversity, consisting of the traces of the network of concepts and distinctions.[62]

There are striking, if potentially misleading, parallels between the notion of a buddha as inwardly and outwardly quiescent and the silence of the sage-king Shun, who does nothing yet leaves nothing undone. I have already touched on the apparent congruity between the Chinese cosmology of organic holism and Indo-European notions of natural law and cosmic order (*ṛta*). Although such apparent correspondences may prove to be superficial, they nonetheless facilitated the transposition of Indian ideas into a distinctly Chinese idiom.

The Resonant-Body of the Buddha

Scholastic interpretations of buddhahood in China are often couched in the technical language of *buddhakāya*, or "buddha-body," doctrine; the analysis of enlightenment in terms of multiple coexisting "bodies" allowed competing and sometimes conflicting notions of buddhahood to be rendered conceptually congruent.[63] Like the Indians, the Chinese never settled on a single definitive version of the buddha-body theory, and one finds various lists of two, three, four, five, and even ten bodies of the Buddha depending on the source consulted. The complexity of the situation is further exacerbated by the varying Chinese expressions used to translate key Sanskrit terms. Of primary interest in the present discussion will be the term "*ying-shen*" 應身—the "resonant-body" or "response body"—which appears in a variety of Chinese sources, including translations of Indic materials, apocrypha, and commentaries.

In brief, the fully developed doctrine of multiple buddha-bodies holds that the true body of a buddha is the eternal dharma-body, or *dharmakāya*—true suchness devoid of phenomenal characteristics (although some texts do speak of the phenomenal universe in its

totality as the *dharmakāya*).[64] The *nirmāṇakāya*, or "transformation-body," is the buddha-body that appears in the world in response to the suffering of living beings. It is, in other words, the direct expression of *upāya*. According to the strong version of this thesis, a buddha does not will his physical form into being. Rather the *dharmakāya* spontaneously responds to those in need, manifesting an "apparition" or "phantom body" in the form best suited to the exigencies at hand. The *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* says: "The realm of the Blessed Lord Buddhas and their skill in means are inconceivable. In order to ripen beings they manifest such and such a splendor of a field so as to respond to such and such a desire of beings" (Lamotte 1976:229).

Mahāyāna sūtras are replete with references to bodhisattvas assuming variant forms in response to the specific needs of those who call upon them. In China the two best-known examples are the multiple emanations of Avalokiteśvara, as described in chapter 25 of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*,[65] and the "reduplication-bodies" (*fen-shen* 分身) of Kṣitigarbha, as depicted in chapter 2 of the *Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching* 地藏菩薩本願經 (Sūtra on the Fundamental Vows of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva).[66] These sūtras rank among the most widely disseminated Buddhist scriptures in China, and the notion of multiple and variegated emanations of buddhas and bodhisattvas emerged as a central motif in Chinese Buddhist ritual and ceremony, both monastic and lay. Moreover, the concept of multiple emanations of a single deity lent conceptual credence to the exuberant proliferation of icons that came to populate the Chinese Buddhist landscape.

The *Lotus Sūtra* formula describing the multiple bodies of Avalokiteśvara runs as follows: "Should there be beings in the realm who require the body of a buddha in order to attain liberation, Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva will manifest the body of a buddha in order to preach the dharma. For those who require the body of a *pratyekabuddha* in order to attain liberation, he manifests the body of a *pratyekabuddha* in order to preach the dharma."[67] The passage goes on to enumerate thirty-three different forms that Avalokiteśvara may assume for the sake of living beings. The *Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching* makes much the same claim on behalf of Kṣitigarbha:

> All varieties and classes of living beings are liberated through the manifold and distinct reduplication-bodies [of Kṣitigarbha]. These bodies may manifest as men, women, gods, dragons, spirits, or ghosts. They may manifest as mountains, forests, streams, springs, and rivers,

or as lakes, fountains, or wells, [in each case] bringing benefit and liberation to people. They may manifest as the bodies of divine emperors, Brahma kings, wheel-turning kings, laypersons, kings of countries, prime ministers, officials, *bhikṣu*s, *bhikṣuṇī*s, *upāsaka*s, *upāsikā*s, *śrāvaka*s, *arhat*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, bodhisattvas, and so on, all in order to transform and save [living beings]. It is not only the body of a buddha that will appear before [one in need].[68]

The attempt on the part of scholastic exegetes to unravel the ontology and epistemology of these divine manifestations gave rise to increasingly complex *buddhakāya* schemes. The Chinese were at a particular disadvantage, first because the Indian scriptures and treatises to which they had access did not agree on the number and characteristics of the variant buddha-bodies and, second, because of the variety of Chinese locutions used to render a single Sanskrit term. A quick glance at three different Chinese translations of a passage from the *Laṅkāvatāra* should highlight this complexity. The passage in question has been translated by Suzuki from the Sanskrit as follows.

Mahāmati, the Niṣyanda-buddha, instantaneously maturing the mentality of beings, places them in the palatial abode of the Akaniṣṭha mansion, where they will become practitioners of various spiritual exercises. Mahāmati, it is like the Dharmatā-buddha shining forth instantaneously with the rays that issue from the Niṣyanda-nirmāṇa [-buddha]; in the same way, Mahāmati, the noble truth of self-realisation instantaneously shines out when false views of existence and non-existence are discarded. And yet again, Mahāmati, what the Dharmatā-niṣyanda-buddha teaches is that all things are comprehensible under the aspects of individuality and generality.... Again Mahāmati, it is the doing of the Dharmatā-buddha to establish the exalted state of self-realization which transcends the phenomena of the [empirical] mind. Again, Mahāmati, what the Nirmita-nirmāṇa-buddha establishes concerns such matters as charity, morality, meditation.[69]

There is little evidence that the *Laṅkāvatāra* was intending to forge a systematic theory of multiple buddha-bodies; the text enumerates various categories of buddhas with little concern for the interrelationships that hold among them. (While the term "*dharmakāya*" does appear in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, it is not construed as the source from which buddhas arise.) The confusions wrought by the Sanskrit passage are exacerbated by the manner in which key terms were handled by Chinese translators. While the extent to which the versions of the *Laṅkāvatāra* available to medieval Chinese translators differed from the extant Sanskrit text is unknown,[70] a quick comparison of the three

surviving Chinese translations, those by Guṇabhadra (T.670), Bodhiruci (T.671), and Śikṣānanda (T.672), attest to the problems that confronted Chinese scholiasts:[71]

Extant Sanskrit text	T.670	T.671	T.672
dharmatābuddha	法佛	法佛	法性佛
dharmabuddha	法佛	法佛	法佛
maulatathāgata	眞如來	根本如來	根本佛
dharmatāniṣyandabuddha	法化佛	法佛報佛	法性所流佛
niṣyandabuddha	依佛, 化佛	報佛, 報相佛	報佛
vipākajabuddha	報生佛	報佛	報佛
vipākasthābuddha	報佛	報佛	報佛
nirmāṇabuddha	依佛	化佛	變化佛／化佛
nairmāṇikabuddha	化佛	化佛	變化佛／化佛
nirmitanirmāṇabuddha	化佛	應化佛	變化如來／化佛

A Chinese monk already familiar with buddha-body theories from other sources would likely find the *Laṅkāvatāra* terminology perplexing: note the manner in which the terms "*pao*" 報 (recompense), "*pien*" 變 (change, transformation), "*hua*" 化 (change, transformation), and "*ying*" 應 (response) alternate from one translation to the next. Suzuki puzzles over the use of *pao* for *niṣyanda* and *vipāka* in these texts and suggests several ways in which the translation could have been derived given the etymology and scholastic connotations of the Sanskrit terminology (1930:322–325). I suspect, however, that the use of *pao* indicates a concerted effort on the part of Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda to harmonize the confused buddhology of the *Laṅkāvatāra* with the tripartite *nirmāṇakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya*, *dharmakāya* of the more systematic treatises already known to the Chinese.

The Wei translation of the *She ta-sheng lun* 攝大乘論 (*Mahāyānasaṃgraha*), for example, presents a three-body system consisting of a true-body (*chen-shen*), a resonant-body (*ying-shen*), and a recompense-body (*pao-shen* 報身), all three of which are said to be aspects of the single buddha-body (*fo-shen* 佛身).[72] The same terminology is also found in the *Ta-sheng t'ung-hsing ching* 大乘同性經 (**Mahāyānābhisamaya-sūtra*).[73] The term "*ying-shen*" in both these instances is functionally equivalent to Sanskrit *nirmāṇakāya*, insofar as the *ying-shen*, like the *nirmāṇakāya*, can be perceived by deluded beings in all realms, as opposed to the *pao-shen*, which is visible only to spiritually advanced beings or to those residing in a pure land.

Our understanding of *ying-shen* is complicated, however, by the fact that it corresponds with Sanskrit *saṃbhogakāya* (or *sāṃbhogikakāya*,

reward-body, enjoyment-body) in another influential Chinese *trikāya* tradition, represented by such texts as the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Ho-pu chin-kuang-ming ching* 合部金光明經, Sūtra of Golden Light).[74] This text distinguishes (1) the transformation-body (*hua-shen* 化身), which can be seen by all beings in whatever form is best suited to their needs; (2) the resonant-body (*ying-shen*), which is manifest only to bodhisattvas, to whom it preaches the ultimate teachings; and (3) the dharma-body (*fa-shen*), which is formless, being beyond time and space. According to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, the transformation-body is multiple; the resonant-body, which possesses the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks, is unitary; and the dharma-body transcends all distinctions between unitary and plural. The dharma-body is ultimately real, while the other two are contingent. Again, the dharma-body is compared to the sun and the other two to a mirror that reflects the rays of the sun.[75] The key *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* passage pertaining to the transformation and resonant-bodies reads as follows:

> How should a bodhisattva understand the transformation-body? Good youth! In the past, when the Tathāgata was still at the stage of disciplined practice, he cultivated many kinds of dharmas for the sake of living beings. Having completed the practice of all these dharmas, he attained complete mastery 自在 because of the power of his cultivation. Because of the power of his complete mastery, he is able to accord with the hearts, practices, and worlds of living beings. He understands them all and never misses the right opportunity—the place and time [at which he manifests] as well as his conduct and his preaching of the dharma all accord with the needs [of living beings] 處所相應時相應行相應說法相應. He manifests various bodies, and these are called "transformation-bodies."
>
> [How should a bodhisattva understand the resonant-body?][76] Good youth! All these buddha-tathāgatas preach the ultimate truth for the sake of bodhisattvas in order that they may thoroughly penetrate [the teachings], in order that [living beings] may understand that *saṃsāra* and nirvāṇa are of a single flavor, that the joys and fears of sentient beings [arise owing to] attachment to self,[77] and in order that they may provide a foundation for boundless buddha-dharmas. The Tathāgata resonates with suchness and the wisdom of suchness owing to the power of his [original] vows.[78] This body is fully endowed with the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks, and the head and upper body are encircled in radiant light. This is called the resonant-body.[79]

The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* goes on to make a four-part distinction among the bodies of a buddha,[80] but of immediate concern is the distinction between the *hua-shen* and the *ying-shen*, as both terms are often consid-

ered equivalents for Sanskrit *nirmāṇakāya*. However, in the present text only *ying-shen* refers to manifestations in the form of a tathāgata possessing the major and minor marks. As the *ying-shen* would appear to be visible only to bodhisattvas well advanced on the path, one would suppose that *ying-shen* translates or is functionally equivalent to *saṃbhogakāya*. The *hua-shen*, or transformation-body, can take virtually any form, depending on the circumstances. This ambiguity apparently led some Chinese commentators to consider the transformation- and resonant-bodies to result from the bifurcation of a single body, the "resonant-transformation-body" or *ying-hua-shen* (MZ 1.335a).

One might suppose it a relatively simple task to trace the original Indic term or terms behind the Chinese *ying-shen*. Curiously, I have been unable to locate a Sanskrit counterpart to any single occurrence of the term "*ying-shen*"; it is not even clear that there was one. Even in the case of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, for which a Sanskrit manuscript survives, the specific section dealing with the bodies of a buddha is found only in the Chinese. The resulting ambiguity of the "resonant-body" in China was actively exploited by Shan-tao 善導 (613–681), who argued that the Pure Land of Amitābha, while accommodating all sinners, is nonetheless an exalted "recompense-land" (*pao-t'u* 報土, Sk. *sāṃbhogikakṣetra*) and Amitābha himself a *saṃbhogakāya* buddha even though all the faithful can gaze upon him at death.[81]

By turning to an indigenous Chinese treatise, one gets a clearer picture of the distinctively Chinese understanding of this notion of multiple buddha-bodies and the degree to which such understanding is informed by native *kan-ying* cosmology. The *Shih-lao chih* 釋老志 (Chronicle of Buddhism and Taoism) was written as a chapter of the official history of the Northern Wei dynasty (*Wei shu* 魏書) in the latter part of the sixth century.[82] The author, Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572), was a court official and historian who undertook the work under the auspices of the king of the Northern Ch'i. Wei Shou was not a monk, nor was he trained in Buddhist scholasticism, but his writings reveal a not unsophisticated knowledge of Buddhist doctrine. In the *Shih-lao chih* Wei Shou sought to present an overview of the tenets of Buddhism (and to a lesser extent Taoism) and to chronicle the relationship between church and state under the Northern Wei.

The first section of the *Shih-lao chih* includes a brief sketch of Śākyamuni's life, ending with his death under the *śāla* trees. After a short explanation of the meaning of *nieh-p'an* 涅槃, Wei Shou continues:

> The dharma-bodies of the buddhas have two aspects. One is the true [-body], the other that of expedient response. "True-body" refers to the ultimate substance, wondrously surpassing all bonds and impediments, which cannot be situated in space or time, and cannot be delimited by form or measure. When there is a stimulus it responds, but its substance is ever tranquil.
>
> "Body of expedient response" refers to the one that blends its light with that of the six paths of existence, that shares defilement with the myriad kinds [of beings], whose birth and death accord with the times, and whose life span is in response to things. Its form arises due to a stimulus, but its substance is not really existent. [Therefore] although the expedient form [of a buddha] may take its leave, true substance does not move. It is only because at times there is no wondrous stimulus that he is not always seen. It is clear that a buddha's birth is not a real birth, his death not a real death. 諸佛法身[83]有二種義。一者眞實、二者權應。眞實身謂至極之體、妙絶拘累、不得以方處期、不可以形量限。有感斯應體常湛然。權應身者謂和光六道、同塵萬類、生滅隨時、修短應物、形由感生、體非實有、權形雖謝、眞體不遷。但時無妙感、故莫得常見耳。明佛生非實生、滅非實滅也.[84]

While the terms "true-body" (*chen-shih-shen* 眞實身) and "body of expedient-response" (*ch'üan-ying-shen* 權應身) are not particularly common in medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures, the latter does appear in a passage in the *Treasure Store Treatise* describing the true nature of buddha:

> He is the teacher of gods and humans, fully omniscient, who through his expedient-response body 權應形 guides all who suffer. Absolutely tranquil and empty, he is the sun of radiant and transcendent wisdom, illuminating the ten directions, at one with what lies above and blessing what lies below. He brooks no distinction with regard to person, defilement, meaning, or cause; being uniform and nondual, he is the perfectly penetrating single body 圓通一身 that is known as the truth of the great schemata. Since this principle is difficult to perceive, he provisionally establishes expedient devices, engendering exacting words and treatises, for it is made manifest by relying on things. (145b8–13)

Wei Shou's distinction between the true body and the body of expedient response, although "noncanonical," is nonetheless familiar. Both the 531 translation of the *She ta-sheng lun* and the 570 translation of the *Ta-sheng t'ung-hsing ching* mentioned above similarly subdivide the single dharma-body into various "aspects." But Wei Shou is explicit in attributing to both the "true-body" and the "body of expedient response" the ability to respond to stimuli. The difference between the two is that the true-body, whose nature transcends time and

space, remains unmoved in its response, while the body of expedient response appears in a particular form at a particular time and place. The fundamental activity of both bodies (and thus of the dharma-body itself) is that of response (*ying*), and if one does not perceive the eternal presence of the Buddha, it is because of the lack of appropriate stimuli (*kan*).

Perhaps the most important formulation of the three-body theory in later Chinese Buddhist scholasticism was that of the *Awakening of Faith in the Great Vehicle* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乘起信論), the translation of which is attributed to Paramārtha (Chen-ti) in 553, although the text is almost certainly a Chinese apocryphon.[85] The discussion of buddha-bodies occurs in a passage clarifying the interrelationship between the universal principle—suchness, which permeates everywhere—and the particular instances of suchness, including manifest buddhas and bodhisattvas. The salvific activity of buddhas is expressed in terms of the essence (*t'i* 體) and function (*yung* 用) of the dharma-body (*fa-shen*). As this is probably the most influential expression of the Chinese understanding of the resonant-body of a buddha, I have translated the relevant passages in full:

> All buddhas and bodhisattvas desire to liberate all beings. Their [liberating vow] spontaneously permeates 熏習 [all beings], never forsaking them. By means of the power of their wisdom, which is equal to the essence [of suchness], they manifest activities in response [to the needs of beings] 隨應 as they see and hear them. Therefore sentient beings, by means of their *samādhi*, can attain the universal perception of all buddhas.
>
> This permeation of the essential functioning [of the Buddhas' wisdom] is also divided into two categories [in accordance with the differing capacities of beings]. What are the two? The first are those who do not yet resonate 未相應 [with the essence of suchness]. This category includes common folk, those of the two vehicles, those bodhisattvas who have just begun to give rise to the thought [of awakening], and so on. Being permeated [by suchness] in each moment of thought and consciousness, they rely on the strength of their faith and thus are able to engage in practice. However, they have yet to attain nondiscriminating mind that resonates with the essence. Nor have they yet attained the practice of free activity 自在業修行 that resonates with functioning.
>
> The second [category are those who] already resonate. This is the dharma-body bodhisattva who has attained a nondiscriminating mind and resonates with the inherent essence of all buddhas. And having attained free activity, they resonate with the functioning of the wisdom

of all buddhas. By merely relying on the power of the dharma, they [are able to] practice spontaneously, because the permeation of suchness [naturally] extinguishes ignorance.[86]

Because [the Tathāgatas] possess the wisdom of great expedient means and have utterly extinguished ignorance, they perceive the original dharma-body 本法身. Being spontaneously endowed with the myriad functions of incomprehensible activity, they are equal with suchness and pervade everywhere. Moreover, they are without any attributes of functioning 用相 that could be grasped. Why so? Because all buddha-tathāgatas are none other than the dharma-body, the body of the attribute of wisdom. They [possess] absolute truth that transcends worldly truth and have transcended conventional activity. And yet, since sentient beings receive benefit through seeing and hearing [the buddhas], one can refer to their functions.

These functions are of two kinds. What are the two? The first is dependent on object-discriminating consciousness 分別事識 and is perceived by the minds of ordinary folk and the followers of the two vehicles. It is called the "resonant-body" 應身 [T.1667: 化身]. Since [such people] do not know that [the resonant-body] is projected by [their own] revolving consciousness 轉識, they perceive it as coming from without. Thus they grasp its form in a piecemeal fashion, being unable to understand it in its entirety.

§ The second is that which is dependent upon consciousness [resulting from] karmic activity 業識 and is perceived by the minds of all bodhisattvas, from those who have just initiated the thought [of awakening on up to] those of the ultimate stage. It is called the "recompense-body" 報身 [T.1667: 受用身]. This body possesses innumerable forms, and each form has innumerable [major] marks, and each major mark has innumerable minor marks. The place where [this body] dwells is possessed of innumerable and multifarious adornments. Accordingly, its manifestations are boundless, inexhaustible, and indivisible. In accord with the needs [of beings], it can be firmly stabilized and grasped, and is neither destroyed nor lost sight of. All these meritorious qualities are the result of the fulfillment of the karmic influences of the pure practice of the perfections as well as the incomprehensible place of the karmic influences. Because [this body] is fully endowed with innumerable attributes of joy, it is called the "recompense-body" [T.1666 and T.1667: 報身].

Ordinary people see only the coarse form, and one's perception will differ depending on one's position within the six transmigratory realms. There are many different kinds [of manifestations] that do not receive the attribute of joy, and therefore they are called "resonant-bodies" 應身 [T.1667: 化身].[87]

Question: If the dharma-bodies of all buddhas are devoid of the attributes of form, how are they able to manifest the attributes of form?

> Answer: Since the dharma-body is the very essence of form, it is able to manifest as form. This is so because, from the very beginning of time, form and mind are not two. Since the nature of form is identical with wisdom, the essence of form is devoid of shape, and therefore it is called the "wisdom-body" 智身. Since the nature of wisdom is identical with form, it is called the dharma-body that is omnipresent and whose manifest form is indivisible. In accordance with mind it can manifest as innumerable bodhisattvas, innumerable recompense-bodies 報身 [T.1667: 受用身], and innumerable adornments of the ten quarters of the world. Each and every one of them is distinct, yet each is indivisible [from the whole], and they do not interfere with one other. This is incomprehensible to the discriminating faculty of mind and consciousness, as it is the very function and meaning of the freedom of true suchness.[88]

The *Awakening of Faith* skillfully intertwines *trikāya* doctrines with the indigenous Chinese terminology of *t'i* and *yung*—essence and function. The dharma-body is suchness in its essential aspect, devoid of form and attributes, while the recompense- and resonant-bodies are manifestations of the functions of suchness. The resonant-body appears in response to the needs of all varieties of beings and can assume a multitude of shapes and forms. The recompense-body is the form we would commonly associate with a buddha proper—the iconic ideal fully endowed with the major and minor marks. This buddha-body is perceived only by those spiritually developed beings who have acquired the necessary powers of *samādhi* and invocation.

It is difficult to grasp the full import of the passage above unless one appreciates the importance of ritual invocation in Chinese Buddhism. Note in particular the paragraph marked with §, which is replete with the language of Buddhist ritual manuals: the recompense-body is perceived abiding in a place "possessed of innumerable and multifarious adornments." The image is to be firmly fixed in the mind ("stabilized and grasped"), and the power to do so is acquired through the practice of the perfections (*pāramitā*). But it would be a mistake to think that the successful visualization of the recompense-body is a product of "self-power" alone; it is accomplished in conjunction with the power of the Buddhas. As is characteristic of the non-Cartesian metaphysics of medieval Buddhism, there is no clear distinction between epistemology and ontology—although a buddha appears as the result of a process of "visualization" or "imagination," this fact does not impinge on the reality or power of said buddha. Recompense buddhas are produced through the power of invocation, but this power

is itself a function of the pervasive influence (*vāsanā*) of the buddha being invoked. Buddhas, like everything else, are dependently originated.

In my translations from the *Awakening of Faith,* I have noted the instances in which Śikṣānanda, in his "retranslation" of the text (T.1667), substitutes *hua-shen* for *ying-shen* and inconsistently alters *pao-shen* to *shou-yung-shen* 受用身—translation equivalents that had become more or less standard since the time of Hsüan-tsang (ca. 600–664). These alterations would have removed the aforementioned ambiguity inherent in the term "*ying-shen.*" But although *ying-shen* was eventually dropped as a translation equivalent for either *saṃbhogakāya* or *nirmāṇakāya,* the more generalized notion of a "resonant-body" remained at the core of Buddhist thought, ritual, and worship, and the term continues to appear in a host of native Chinese exegetical compositions and apocryphal scriptures.

Evidence for the enduring interest in the nature of the resonant-body is found, for example, in the *Ta-sheng erh-shih-erh wen* 大乘二十二問 (Twenty-Two Dialogues on the Great Vehicle), a treatise composed in Tun-huang sometime in the 780s by the monk T'an-k'uang 曇曠 (d.u.).[89] The sixth question reads: "A buddha has three bodies. There is a dharma-body 法身, which envelops and pervades the dharma-realm, a transformation-body 化身, which is possessed by each and every buddha, and a resonant-body. Are the [many] resonant-bodies 應身 identical or different?"[90]

T'an-k'uang's answer to this question reveals just how complex the theory of the buddha-body had become by the eighth century. He begins by enumerating five bodies of a buddha, each of which has multiple aspects or "names" (*ming* 名). One soon finds considerable overlap between categories—the name "*ying-shen*" shows up under the third, fourth, and fifth categories of buddha-bodies (the details of this complex scheme are not of concern here). Here is T'an-k'uang's final explanation of the resonant-body:

> As to whether the resonant-bodies are identical or different: the resonant-body [referred to here] is the third buddha-body in the current list of five. This resonant-body of a buddha appears in response to bodhisattvas of the ten stages.... Bodhisattvas of the first stage see it as small, while second-stage bodhisattvas see it as large. Thus [these bodies] appear in the same place at the same time without interfering with one another. Therefore, they cannot be said to be identical, nor can they be said to differ. They cannot be said to be identical, because what is seen by [each bodhisattva] will differ depending on his stage. They

> cannot be said to differ, because the many buddhas that are seen actually occupy one and the same place. A single instant encompasses three world kalpas! All buddhas exist in the place occupied by a single buddha! Each realm contains all buddhas! One is all and all is one![91]

T'an-k'uang waxes increasingly metaphysical as he extols the wonders of the resonant-bodies of a buddha. More to the point, here too it appears that the notion of a resonant-body served to account for the actual appearance of a buddha to a practitioner of *dhyāna* and invocation.

Finally, note the adoption of the term "resonant-body" in the opening passage of the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* (*Shou-leng-yen ching* 首楞嚴經), an apocryphal Chinese scripture composed in the early T'ang: "Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying near Śrāvastī in the Jetavana *vihāra* with twelve hundred and fifty great *bhikṣu*s, all *arhat*s free of defilement. These disciples of the Buddha firmly upheld the good and had crossed over all existence.... Adorned with the pure *vinaya*, they spread the law throughout the triple realm, their innumerable resonant-bodies 應身 liberating living beings and saving future generations from all defilement."[92] This passage attributes the power to produce resonant-bodies not to a buddha or bodhisattva, but rather to the Buddha's disciples—the *arhat*s. The *arhat*s were commonly depicted in China as accomplished sages, who in many respects enjoy the powers of the exalted celestial bodhisattvas while yet remaining "earthbound."[93] They function as a bridge between the human world and the realm of nirvāṇa and assume many of the characteristics of the Taoist immortals (*hsien* 仙). The *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* depicts the *arhat*s as fully perfected individuals, able to produce resonant-bodies in order to respond appropriately to the needs of living beings. The term "*ying-shen*," or resonant-body, has become fully, if idiosyncratically, naturalized.

The Conception of the Sage in Early Chinese Buddhism

The Chinese understanding of *ying-shen*—the resonant- or response-body of a buddha—loosely incorporates (1) the Buddhist notion of a corporeal (or seemingly corporeal) body manifest in response to the needs of suffering beings and (2) Chinese cosmological principles that explain the power to produce such bodies in terms of nonaction and sympathetic resonance. The sage, bodhisattva, or buddha, through

the principle of nonaction, becomes at one with the universe, acquires the attributes of stillness and harmonious balance, and, without any premeditation or will of his own, spontaneously responds to the stimuli of the world around him, manifesting bodies wherever and whenever the need arises. The sinitic ideal of the consummate Buddhist sage, in other words, represents a synthesis of early Chinese models of the sage-king and the Indian conception of *bodhi* as freedom from karmic activity.

The Buddhism of the Six Dynasties provides some of the most explicit examples of this conceptual overlay.[94] In a memorial presented to the throne in 365, the eminent Buddhist cleric Chih Tun (314–366) advises the king on the proper conduct of the sage, while attempting to justify his request for permission to retire to the mountains:

> Be constantly non-active, and the myriad beings will revert to the origin; hold to the great schemata 大象, and all the world will move of its own accord. As to state regulations concerning capital punishment, there are various officials in charge. If the king grants one his life without [any particular sense of] kindness, the benefit goes to the one granted pardon, and if you kill one without anger, it is the culprit who is executed [with no ensuing karmic consequences for the king]. In this way the king may extend the instruments of the state in order to satisfy the will of the gods, and to hold the scales in order perfectly to measure what is dim and obscure. This is what is meant by: "What does heaven speak? Yet the four seasons go their way!"[95]

The sage-king, by simply fulfilling his role as chief arbiter, "satisfies the will of the gods" and brings harmony to the cosmic hierarchy of heaven, earth, and humanity. While evoking the ideal of nonaction, Chih Tun rationalizes his entreaty by appealing to karma theory: as long as the king's actions are free of attachment and affective entanglement, there will be no ensuing karmic burden.

The sage or perfected one (*chih-jen* 至人) abides in the realm of principle (*li* 理), which places him beyond movement, beyond desire, beyond intention. Precisely because he is devoid of intentionality, he responds to the people's needs by manifesting in the world of change. In a passage preserved in the *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集, Chih Tun explains:

> The principle is different from [the world of] change, and change is different from principle. The teachings are different from the essence [of wisdom, the inner mind of the sage], and the essence is different from the teachings. Therefore, the thousand changes and myriad transformations all take place outside the [realm of] principle, for how

could there be any movement in the spirit 神 [of the sage]? Precisely because it does not move, it can endlessly respond to change. The endless change does not denote the presence of the sage in things, nor is the change of things itself the sage.

The myriad sounds cause the bell to reverberate—a reverberation that, although single, encompasses [all the myriad sounds]. A myriad things stimulate 感 the sage, and the sage also responds 應 out of stillness. Therefore, the [myriad] sounds are not the same as the [single] reverberation, and the words [of the teachings] are not the same as the wisdom of the sage.[96]

Elaboration on this theme can be found in a sketch of Śākyamuni's life written by Chih Tun as an introduction to his "Eulogy on the Buddha": "When [the Buddha] had passed the age of 'following his heart's desires' [i.e., seventy years of age], he effaced his traces in *nirvāṇa*. Now the perfected man is active or inactive in accordance with the [exigencies of the] times; he may vanish here to emerge there [wherever his presence is needed]. [Thus the Buddha's] manifestation disappeared from the Realm of Forbearance 忍土, and darkness returned to Kapilavastu."[97]

Chih Tun has identified the Taoist perfected man of dark-learning vintage with a buddha, conceived in terms of the *dharmakāya*. The buddha/sage is one who, having "embodied the way" 體道, is quiescent and unmoving yet responds spontaneously to the needs of the suffering (Zürcher 1972:1.130).

This sinitic buddhology is further developed in the *Ming-fo lun* 明佛論, written in 433 by the painter, calligrapher, musician, and disciple of Hui-yüan, Tsung Ping 宗炳 (375–443).[98]

"Constant nonbeing" is the Way. Only a buddha is able to model his spirit on the Way. Therefore his virtue is one with the Way, while his spirit and the Way remain two. Since [his spirit and the Way] are distinct, he illuminates through his penetrating transformations; and since [his virtue and the Way] are one, he always follows the Way, without acting. As for the myriad transformations, each follows from causes and conditions, and is spontaneously accomplished within the great Way. That which you now call buddha is the inconceivable freedom of the dharma.[99]

Tsung Ping shows a tendency to push the concept "buddha" to successively more exalted levels of abstraction. Buddhas are denied all of those features that are most characteristically "human," including desire, deliberation, intention, and so on. Although this tendency

is associated with the development of Mahāyāna in general, it assumed a distinctively Chinese ethos as it was couched in the language of traditional Chinese cosmology.

Seng-chao's Conception of the Sage

Seng-chao ranks among the most influential figures in the development of an indigenous Chinese buddhology. His writings, which are permeated with the thought and terminology of the *Chuang-tzu* and the "Hsiang-kuo" commentary, are centered on questions concerning the nature of the buddha, the sage, or the perfected man. (Seng-chao uses all three terms more or less interchangeably.) The essential nature of a buddha is devoid of form or location, yet a buddha will, in response to living beings, appear in the human world. Should he manifest in the midst of purity, he will be perceived as pure, and should he manifest in the midst of impurity, he will be perceived as impure; ultimately, his nature is free of such dualities.[100] In his commentary to the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, Seng-chao applies this notion in his explanation of multiple "buddha-lands" (Sk. *buddhakṣetra*):

> The perfected man is a vast emptiness lacking any image 象, but in response to things he assumes a particular form 形—a form without enduring substance. Indeed, is there anything permanent in the world? Now, since the various karmic propensities of the multitude of beings are dissimilar, the specific transformations are experienced differently, causing the response 報應 to differ. One who is pure will respond as if it were a treasured gem, while one who is polluted will respond as if it were so many stones. Beauty and ugliness, self and other are not fixed with respect to self. This land that is not fixed is called a true-land 眞土. Thus, the purity or pollution of a land is dependent upon [the perceptions of] living beings. Therefore, [the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*] says: "Bodhisattva- and buddha-lands exist [in accordance with specific] categories of living beings." When someone refers to [the fact that] the purity or pollution of a land is bound to [the perception of] living beings, this is the response-land 報應之土, rather than the tathāgata-land, which cannot be likened to any particular place of response. I will make an attempt to explain this: the pure land cultivated by the tathāgata takes "no place" 無方 as its essence, and thus living beings, [having engaged in] diverse practices, may gaze in the same direction but perceive different things. Because of their differing perceptions, purity and pollution arise. Because it is without place, the true-land assumes form. The recompense of living beings is predicated on [the distinction between] purity and pollution. The buddha-land, in actuality, does not exist anywhere.[101]

While the transcendent buddha—the perfected man—appears in response to things, his specific appearance and the manifest characteristics of his abode ultimately lie in the eye of the beholder. The same point is elaborated in the fourth essay of the *Chao lun,* the *Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun* 涅槃無名論 (Nirvāṇa Is Nameless):

> Vimalakīrti said: "I discern the Tathāgata as one without beginning or end, who has passed beyond the [realm of the] six senses and left the triple realm. He neither resides in space, nor is he apart from it; he is neither active nor inactive. He cannot be perceived through consciousness or known through the intellect. He is without words and speech, and has extinguished all mental activity. To discern him in this way is called 'right seeing,' while to discern him in any other way is not to see the Buddha."[102] The *Fang-kuang* says: "Buddha is like empty space, free of comings and goings. He manifests in response to conditions and yet does not abide anywhere."[103] Thus, the nature of the sage in the world is that of utter quiescence and empty nonbeing. He is free of clinging and contentiousness, leads yet never initiates, responds but only when moved to do so [by another]. He is like an echo sounding in a deep valley or an image reflecting in a clear mirror. Encountering him you do not know whence he comes; following him you do not know whither he goes.[104]

The mind of the sage is also a central theme in the third essay of the *Chao lun,* titled *Po-jo wu-chih lun* 般若無知論 (*Prajñā* Is without Knowing). Here the sage is identified with *prajñā* itself, likened to a mirror passively reflecting everything with which it comes into contact. The mirror of *prajñā* spontaneously and perfectly responds to all things without being the least diminished thereby.

> Therefore, the knowledge [of the sage] is a mirror [reflecting] the utterly mysterious, and yet there is no knowing therein. His spirit functions through responding to occasions 應會, yet there is no deliberation therein.... The sage illumines the markless absolute truth with the *prajñā* of nonknowing.... *Prajñā* is the inexhaustible mirror. In coming into contact it never errs.[105] There is accord, yet no affirmation. Calm and quiescent, it is without knowing, yet there is nothing it does not know.[106]

Seng-chao's writings are replete with passages to the same effect: the Buddha's true nature lies beyond the mundane realm of the senses, yet he responds and appears to the supplicant in need. And how is one supposed to induce this response in a buddha? Through the technology of invocation, which turns out to be the crux of Buddhist soteriology and monastic practice.

Invocation

The theory of multiple buddha-bodies, whether in Indian or Chinese guise, might be considered emblematic of the exegetical excesses of medieval scholastics, who were drawn to increasingly rarefied abstractions in their attempt to systematize the haphazard buddhology of the sūtras. Yet these seemingly arcane formulations directly pertain to the realm of liturgy, ritual, and meditation practice. The buddhas and bodhisattvas that constitute the subject matter of such speculation were not merely philosophical constructs or religious ideals; they were vital presences encountered daily in the context of liturgy and worship. Such worship was invariably directed toward one or more sacred icons—painted and sculpted images that were deemed living embodiments of supernatural forces.[107]

Buddhist invocation rites—the mainstay of Mahāyāna praxis—involve the ritual transformation of the physical sanctuary into a buddha-realm populated by one or more Buddhist deities, followed by confession, vows, offerings, recitation of scripture, transference of merit, and so on.[108] The entire rite is performed before the principal icon (*pen-tsun* 本尊)—the manifest body of a buddha, bodhisattva, or other divine being that functions as the central object of devotion, the primary recipient of offerings, and a major source of the rite's efficacy.

The indispensable importance of the physical icon is affirmed in many of the most popular scriptures in the East Asian Buddhist tradition. Sūtras such as the *Scripture on the Production of Buddha Images* (*Tso fo-hsing-hsiang ching* 作佛形像經, T.692) and the *Sūtra on Consecrating and Washing an Image of the Buddha* (*Kuan-hsi fo-hsing-hsiang ching* 灌洗佛形像經, T.695) are devoted exclusively to extolling the benefits derived from the production and proper treatment of sacred images.[109] Although many of these shorter scriptures appear to have been written with a lay audience in mind, image veneration clearly enjoyed canonical sanction.

A concern with the ritual worship of icons can be detected in many of the more doctrinally sophisticated Mahāyāna scriptures as well. The *Ti-tsang p'u-sa pen-yüan ching* mentioned above, for example, prescribes the construction and worship of images of Kṣitigarbha (Ti-tsang 地藏), and expounds at length on the benefits of invocation.[110] A similar concern is seen in the *Lotus Sūtra*, which explicitly "theologizes" the ritual worship of stūpas, buddhas of the past and present, and various "celestial bodhisattvas." The longer and shorter *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*s

must also be included among major scriptures closely connected with buddha invocation.

The ultimate goal of such invocation rites, particularly in a monastic context, is to discern (*kuan* 觀) or see (*chien* 見) the body of the buddha being invoked. This goal is stated clearly in the earliest so-called Pure Land scripture in China, the *Pan-chou san-mei ching* 般舟三昧經 (Sk. **Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*), the first Chinese translation of which is attributed to Lokakṣema (Chih Lou-chia-ch'an 支婁迦讖).[111] The *pratyutpannasamādhi* for which the sūtra is named is one in which the practitioner comes to stand "face-to-face" with the Buddha.[112] The beginning of the sūtra has the bodhisattva Bhadrapāla asking a question that repeats the formula "which *samādhi* will lead the bodhisattva to the following accomplishment?" Each repetition of this formula is followed by a specific "accomplishment," the last of which concerns seeing the Buddha. The Jñānagupta translation reads:

> Through which practice is one able, in a single instant, to arrive in the presence of all Buddhas? Furthermore, through which practice is one able to abide in the lands of all [those Buddhas] and universally perceive all the monks listening to the true dharma and making offerings to all the Buddhas of the ten directions not only without yet having attained the six transcendental super-powers, but also without yet having attained the five mundane super-powers, without having shed this worldly body, and without having been born into any of those buddha-lands? Simply remaining in this land, one is able to see all the Buddhas—the world-honored ones—of all other worlds, hear the true dharma that is proclaimed by all Buddhas, and, hearing and receiving it all, cultivate it in the manner explained. World-Honored One: just as the sage Ānanda is in the presence of the World-Honored One at this very moment, intimately listening to the dharma, receiving and upholding it all, and practicing it in the manner explained, [so too] the bodies of all those bodhisattvas continue to dwell in this land and, without traveling to other worlds, are yet able to perceive all the Buddhas, world-honored ones, hear the dharma, receive and uphold it all, and cultivate it in the manner explained. From that time on, in whatever place he dwells, he will never be far from all Buddhas, world-honored ones, and will always hear the true dharma. This will be so even in his dreams.[113]

Elsewhere the sūtra reaffirms that the vision of a buddha is not achieved through the divine eye, through transporting oneself to another realm, or by virtue of any other magical power. The *samādhi* is such that one comes into the presence of Buddha Amitāyus, worships and reveres

him, and listens to the true dharma while remaining in this very world.[114] In other words, the world of the buddhas is none other than this world—a world constructed through the activity of mind:

> [The practitioner] contemplates as follows: "From where did these Buddhas come just now? And this body of mine, from where did it appear?" Discerning that those Tathāgatas ultimately did not come from anywhere or go anywhere, one understands one's own body in the same manner. Originally there is no realm from which to come, so how could there be any turning [through the wheel of *saṃsāra*]? Moreover, [the practitioner] must perform the following contemplation: "This triple world exists merely as mind. Why so? In accord with my thoughts, so things appear. § Now it is with my mind that I perceive the Buddha; my mind produces the Buddha. My mind *is* the Buddha. My mind *is* the Tathāgata. My mind *is* my body. My mind sees the Buddha. [Yet] mind does not itself know mind; mind does not itself see mind. When the mind produces thought, there is *saṃsāra.* Nirvāṇa is precisely the mind devoid of thought. All dharmas are unreal but arise dependent on thought.[115]

The buddhas and their buddha-lands have no independent ontological status; they exist nowhere other than in the mind of the practitioner. But this does not impinge upon the buddhas' power or "grace." The Jñānagupta translation of the *Pratyutpannasamādhi* explains: "The vision of the Buddha arises in dependence upon three causes. What are the three? The first is the cause of the *samādhi* itself; the second is the empowerment of that Buddha 彼佛加持; and the third is the ripening of one's own good roots of merit. When these three conditions are fully established, one attains a clear vision of all those Tathāgatas."[116]

Notice the appearance of the term "*chia-ch'ih*" 加持 in this passage, which commonly renders Sanskrit *adhiṣṭhāna.* The extant Tibetan recension of the *Pratyutpanna*, however, differs somewhat from the Jñānagupta text. Harrison's rendering of the Tibetan reads: "*Bodhisattvas* who are established in this *samādhi* see the Tathāgatas, and they appear to them, through the combination and concurrence of these three things: the might (Sk. *anubhāva*) of the Buddha, the application of the force of their own wholesome potentialities, and the power [which is the result] of attaining *samādhi*" (1990:41). Closer to the Tibetan text is the earlier Chinese translation attributed to Lokakṣema: "There are three things [necessary to establish this *samādhi*]: holding to the Buddha's supernatural power 威神力, holding to the power of the Buddha's *samādhi,* and holding to the power

of the roots of merit. Through the application of these three things, one is able to see the Buddha."[117]

Whether the original Sanskrit term (or terms) was *buddhānubhāva* or *adhiṣṭhāna* is of little concern here. Both terms and their Chinese equivalents are ubiquitous in Buddhist materials, where they denote the incursion of the divine into the mundane realm. In Chinese materials both *chia-ch'ih* and *wei-shen li* 威神力 refer to the power of a tathāgata to come to the assistance of the supplicant, making possible the transposition of the supplicant into the realm of the buddha without the aid of supernormal powers acquired through one's own meditative accomplishment. Depending on context, these terms can be rendered in English as "supernatural power," "grace," "empowerment," "divine blessings," "divine protection," and so on. Such power or grace is not only directed toward sentient beings, but also toward sacred enclosures, religious implements, and scriptures.[118]

The term "*chia-ch'ih*" is often associated with *mi-chiao* (J. *mikkyō* 密教), or "esoteric Buddhism," considered the East Asian equivalent of Buddhist Tantra, Vajrayāna, or Mantrayāna. However, once again the general understanding of the Chinese situation is unduly influenced by sectarian developments in Japan. The use of *dhāraṇī*, mantra, and images in the ritual invocation of buddhas and other deities in order to partake of divine blessings and supernatural powers—activities commonly associated with Tantra—was a staple of Chinese Buddhist monastic practice, regardless of one's institutional affiliation. There is thus no reason to associate invocation practices, ritual empowerment, or divine grace with any single Buddhist tradition or movement. In fact, as I argue in Appendix 1, there is little evidence that Tantra ever constituted a recognized lineage, self-conscious school, or independent teaching in medieval China.

Conjuring Buddhas and Sympathetic Resonance

As seen in the *Pratyutpannasamādhi*, Indian texts understood the invocation of deities in terms of a specific interaction between the practitioner and the buddha or bodhisattva being conjured. The supplicant relies, at least in part, on the power or "grace" of the buddha occupying the central position in the rite. This interaction between supplicant and buddha, and the soteriological mechanism of grace were understood in China in terms of the indigenous notion of sympathetic resonance.[119]

The Chinese compound *kan-ying*, although not employed in the rendering of any specific Sanskrit term, occurs frequently in Chinese discussions concerning the workings of invocation. It also occurs in passages elucidating the term "*chia-ch'ih*," or empowerment; indeed, later Japanese Shingon exegetes explicitly identify the mechanism of empowerment with *kan-ying*.[120] *Kan-ying* is the principle underlying the interaction between practitioner and buddha—the supplicant is said to "stimulate" or "affect" (*kan*) the buddha, an action that elicits the buddha's compassionate response (*ying*). In this context one encounters expressions such as "affect the buddha" (*kan fo* 感佛) or "stimulate the tathāgata" (*kan ju-lai* 感如來). What is to be made of these locutions?

The interpretation of the term "*kan*" is rendered problematic by the implicit Cartesian metaphysical assumptions that inform the modern distinction between epistemology and ontology. The earliest Chinese etymological dictionary, the *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字, defines *kan* as "to move a person's mind" 感動人心也, a definition that suggests the English "incite," "agitate," "rouse," "stimulate," and so on (MH 4.1132a). We might designate this range of meanings "ontological" insofar as to *kan* another person is to effect the mind of a being external to oneself. In modern Mandarin and Japanese usage, however, the word "*kan*" refers not to an activity that impresses or impinges on another but rather to a subjective event, often translated as to "feel," "experience," "sense," or "become aware of." Accordingly, I will designate this second range of meanings "epistemological" insofar as it implies an inner experience, perception, or cognition that may or may not correlate with an event in the external world.

The task, it would seem, is to determine which sense of *kan* is intended in phrases such as *kan fo* or *kan ju-lai*: does it mean to bestir the buddha or simply to experience his presence? In the former case the use of *kan* would imply a conception of buddha as ontologically other, while the latter reading leaves open the possibility that the buddha manifest to the practitioner is the product of the practitioner's imagination or *samādhi*. In the latter case there may be no ultimate ontological distinction between buddha and supplicant.

Occurrences of the term "*kan fo*" in medieval Buddhist materials resist attempts to distinguish epistemological from ontological readings. The desire for a precise analysis of the metaphysical status of divinity, not to mention the desire for a consistent English rendering, is frustrated by what at first appears to be relentless equivocation

on the part of ritual exegetes; the term "*kan*" invariably lends itself to either interpretation. It soon becomes evident that the distinction between epistemology and ontology—between subjective cognition and objective fact—is, at least in some respects, an artifact of our specific linguistic and intellectual heritage, and thus of questionable value in the analysis of medieval Chinese materials.[121] (A similar point has been argued by Chad Hansen, who sought to demonstrate, through an analysis of the syntax of pre-Han Chinese writings, that early Chinese philosophy did not, and in some sense could not, make a clear distinction between universals and particulars. According to Hansen, early Chinese metaphysics was predicated on a *mereological* conception of the universe.)[122] Thus, with some misgivings I render *kan* as "stimulus" or "affect"—terms that allow the construction of intentionally polyvalent English locutions.[123]

During the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (317–589) the bodhisattva Kuan-yin 觀音 became a focus of popular worship, and the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經 (the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*) began circulating as an independent work. Chronicles were compiled recording numerous instances in which Kuan-yin responded to a supplicant in need, delivering him or her from danger, illness, or distress. Yet it was apparent that not everyone was successful in eliciting Kuan-yin's assistance, an issue that troubled Buddhist exegetes. As the Kuan-yin cult spread, there was a corresponding growth of scholastic writings dedicated to the workings of divine manifestations, namely, the mechanism of stimulus-response (Fukushima 1979:36).

There is evidence that *Ch'eng-shih lun* 成實論 exegetes, including Chih-tsang 智藏 (458–522) and Seng-min 僧旻 (467–527), were engaged in a controversy over the nature of stimulus-response. The writings of these commentators no longer survive, but their theories are partially preserved in the works of their principal critics, the systematizers of the "new" San-lun tradition. A number of San-lun works, including the *Ta-sheng ssu-lun hsüan-i* 大乘四論玄義 by Chün-cheng 均正 (d.u.)[124] and the *Ta-sheng hsüan lun* (T.1853) by Chi-tsang (549–623), record the *Ch'eng-shih lun* positions in the context of their own discussions of invocation, and the sixth fascicle of the former work is devoted exclusively to the problems and controversies surrounding *kan-ying*.

Chi-tsang's approach to stimulus-response is laid out in the fifth fascicle of his *Ta-sheng hsüan lun*:[125]

> Stimulus-response is the great tenet of the buddha-dharma, the essential teaching of the many sūtras. To "stimulate" means to bring or summon forth, and to "respond" means to go forth and meet in welcome. As all sentient beings possess [the seeds of] goodness, they may induce the Buddhas to descend and take shape in front of them, and [the Buddhas] will meet them in welcome. The principle [is such that they] neither deviate nor overshoot [the mark]. This is called stimulus and response. The common person stimulates but does not respond; the Buddhas respond but do not stimulate; and bodhisattvas both respond and stimulate. Stimuli are not all the same; in brief there are four kinds. The first stimulates the form but not the voice; one only sees the Buddha but does not hear the dharma. The second stimulates the voice but not the form; one hears the teachings directly but does not see the Buddha. The third stimulates both the voice and the form; one sees the Buddha and hears the dharma. The fourth neither sees the Buddha nor hears the dharma but directly stimulates the divine powers and esoteric dominions.[126]

The notion that sentient beings have the capacity to stimulate the Buddhas and that the Buddhas possess the power to respond was noncontroversial. The pressing issue was why some practitioners attested to visions of the Buddha while others did not. The *Ch'eng-shih lun* scholars held various positions concerning the kinds of karmic seeds that would yield a response. Chinese San-lun texts enumerate in exhaustive detail their competing theories, only to refute each in turn in characteristic Mādhyamika fashion. Each position is found to entail self-contradiction and to lead to either nihilism or eternalism. For example, if the stimulus is the result of the accumulation of good merit, then what need would there be for the assistance of a buddha? As Chi-tsang says, "If one is free of illness, what need is there for a doctor?"[127] All Buddhist scriptures teach that buddhas and bodhisattvas appear in the world precisely out of their compassionate desire to help those mired in defilement and delusion. But the opposite position is equally untenable: to those who insist that the stimulus lies in the seeds of evil or defilement (*o* 悪), Chi-tsang asks rhetorically: "Why then don't all [defiled] beings see the Buddha?"[128]

While the San-lun critics exploited the weaknesses of their opponents' positions, they also proffered their own theories, explaining stimulus-response under the rubric of principle (*li* 理) and phenomena (*shih* 事). The explanation in terms of principle is of particular relevance to the present discussion, as it explicitly involves the notion of "classes" (*lei*) examined above. The discussion begins with the question: "If it is precisely the defiled or evil beings who require the assis-

tance of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, how is it that the dharma-body, which is essentially pure and free of defilement, is able to respond?" As one would expect, the question assumes that response or resonance only occurs between objects of the same class. The San-lun solution to this quandary is to affirm, from the point of view of "principle," the essential identity of both Buddha and sentient beings:

> Sentient beings [all] have buddha-nature. Since sentient beings possess [buddha-]nature, they are able to stimulate the Buddha. Since sentient beings are all children of the Buddha, Buddha responds to sentient beings. Consequently, for there to be a stimulus and response, there must be a correspondence of natural types. The *ch'i* of the Buddha and sentient beings are of the same type. Sentient beings, sharing the same type of *ch'i* as the Buddha, may thus [be designated both] "buddha [-natured] sentient beings" and "sentient-being buddhas." As they are "buddha[-natured] sentient beings," sentient beings stimulate the Buddha. As they are "sentient-being buddhas," the Buddhas respond to sentient beings.[129]

But the question remained: if all beings have buddha-nature, and buddhas resonate with like kinds, why can't everyone see the Buddha?[130] After meticulously examining and rejecting each of the arguments put forward by their opponents, Chi-tsang states the San-lun position:

> If the water of the mind of living beings is clear, the reflection of *bodhi* will appear within. Thus if the water of the mind is sullied, you will not see Buddha, but if the water of the mind is pure, the Buddha will be seen. This Buddha does not come from without nor emerge from within. It is only through the condition of purity of mind that one may see the Buddha. It can be compared to a clear mirror: the image [in the mirror] does not come from without, nor does it emerge from within. Moreover, the image is neither identical with the mirror, nor is it different from it. For if you say they are identical, then given a mirror there must always be an image, irrespective of whether or not the mirror is clean. Yet if you say they are different, then how would you go about separating them? . . . Therefore, when the mirror is clean, the image appears. The purity of the mirror is like the stimulus, and the appearance of the image is like the response. This is the essential purport of stimulus-response.[131]

The stimulus-response between practitioner and buddha is here explicated in terms of sympathetic resonance among like kinds. In fact, the *Ta-sheng ssu-lun hsüan-i* goes on to cite the example of the bell spontaneously responding to the collapse of the bronze mountain discussed above: "One [type of excellent dharma] belongs to the same category as the dharma-body. As they belong to the same category,

they correspond with each other and thus affect one another. It is like the 'mirror bell' [sounding] in response to the collapse of the bronze mountain."[132]

The T'ien-t'ai Doctrine of Sympathetic Resonance

The Buddhist doctrine of sympathetic resonance or stimulus-response was further developed by T'ien-t'ai scholars, who drew on the notion in their discussions of the theoretical and practical aspects of invocation (Ikeda 1971). Chih-i's (538–597) commentaries were particularly influential in later East Asian Buddhist writings on the subject of *kan-ying*. One of the organizing motifs for Chih-i's analysis of the *Lotus Sūtra* was the notion of *miao* 妙, or "wonder," the significance of which is due to its occurrence in the Chinese title of the sūtra *Miao-fa lien-hua ching* 妙法蓮華經 (Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma).[133] There were thirty such wonders in all, one of which was the "wonder of stimulus-response" (*kan-ying miao* 感應妙).[134]

Chih-i's writings on the subject reveal the influence of his San-lun predecessors, particularly Chi-tsang. The overlap is to be expected; Hirai Shun'ei has demonstrated that large sections of Chih-i's corpus were lifted directly from San-lun sources. This is no doubt due to the editorial activities of Chih-i's disciple Kuan-ting 灌頂 (561–632), who undertook the compilation of Chih-i's prodigious corpus rather late in his life.[135] Kuan-ting is known to have been drawn to Chi-tsang's writings during the period following Chih-i's death, and the "three great commentaries" traditionally attributed to Chih-i are now understood to have been shaped by Kuan-ting and others. Nevertheless, whether ultimately the work of Chih-i, Kuan-ting, or even Chi-tsang, the "T'ien-t'ai" theory of stimulus-response played a seminal role in the medieval Chinese analysis of invocation rites.

Chih-i's *Lotus Sūtra* commentary, the *Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i* 妙法蓮華經玄義, introduces the wonder of stimulus-response as follows:

> The "wonder of stimulus-response" refers to the stimulus-response in four phases 四句,[136] the stimulus-response in thirty-six phases,[137] the stimulus-response in the twenty-five [realms of being],[138] and the stimulus-response of the distinct and perfect [teachings] 別圓感應. Water does not rise, nor does the moon descend, yet in a single instant the one moon is manifest in manifold [bodies] of water. [Similarly] buddhas do not come and sentient beings do not go. The power of the good roots of compassion should be perceived in this way. Therefore, it is called the wonder of stimulus-response.[139]

A full analysis of the wonder of stimulus-response is found in fascicle 6a of the same text.[140] Here are found the analogy of the simultaneous reflection of the moon in many bodies of water as well as the analogy of an image reflected endlessly in facing mirrors.[141] The power of beings to induce a response in the Buddha is identified with the power of the impetus (*chi* 機), the source of which lies in the karmic accumulation of good deeds. Just as the water must be clear and still to reflect the light of the moon, the mind must be clear and still to elicit the response of the Buddha. This same image was employed by Chi-tsang in his analysis of "stimulus-response with respect to principle." In later East Asian exegesis the image of the moon on the water becomes the standard illustration of the workings of *kan-ying*.[142] The image is adopted by Kūkai, for example, who explains the workings of *kaji*, or empowerment (C. *chia-ch'ih*, Sk. *adhiṣṭhāna*) in terms of *kan-ying*. In his *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 即身成佛義 (Attaining Enlightenment in This Very Existence) Kūkai writes:

> *Kaji* indicates the great compassion of the Tathāgata and the mind of faith of living beings. The reflection of the Buddha's sunlike [radiance] on the water of the minds of living beings is called *ka* [adding], and the ability of the water of the practitioner's mind to affect the Buddha is called *ji* [retaining]. The practitioner who is able to discern this principle will resonate with the three mysteries. Therefore, in his present body he will quickly come to manifest and realize his original three [buddha-] bodies.[143]

Kūkai's influence can be detected in turn in the more popular Kamakura collection of Buddhist tales *Shaseki shū* 沙石集 (Collection of Sand and Pebbles) by Mujū Ichien 無住一圓 (1226–1312):

> According to Shingon doctrine, the power of *kaji* 加持力 refers to the responsive communion between the body of the Buddha and those of sentient beings, not unlike the moon lodging in the water by reflection. Moreover, when the burning embers and the charcoal are intermingled and we poke the embers along with the charcoal, then the charcoal presently becomes embers. Similarly, when those who practice the religious life with faith come into contact with the august body of the Buddha, the devotee presently becomes Buddha. This is what is called the power of *kaji*.[144]

This image of mind as a body of water passively reflecting the light of the moon was clearly popular in explanations of the relationship of buddha to living beings. Only when water is clear and calm will it reflect the moon's radiance, and only when the practitioner's mind is

clear and tranquil will it reflect the pure radiance of buddha-nature. This account would suggest that *kan* be translated as "to experience" or "to perceive." But a full examination of the term militates against such a reading. Chih-i's *Mo-ho chih-kuan* 摩訶止觀, for example, contains the following discussion concerning the practice of reciting the name of a buddha (*tsun-ch'eng i-fo ming-tzu* 尊稱一佛名字). The passage concerns the benefits accrued through the actual vocalization of a buddha's name:

> The air 風 coming into contact with the seven places in the body completes the physical act, and the echo of the voice emerging from the lips completes the vocal act. These two deeds [of body and speech] are able to assist the mind in creating an impetus 機 that stimulates the Buddha's descent 感佛俯降. It is like a person pulling a heavy load whose own strength is insufficient and so he seeks out the assistance of one nearby. He can then lift it with ease. The situation of the practitioner is similar: if his mind is weak, he is unable to remove obstacles, but if he recites the names [of the Buddhas] and requests their protection, negative conditions will be unable to harm him.[145]

The practitioner, lacking the power to accomplish his religious objectives on his own, seeks to elicit the assistance of a buddha through the cultivation of an impetus that, through the principle of sympathetic resonance, will effect the descent of a transformation-body of the buddha. A similar explanation is found in Chih-i's *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i*: "[If the proper preliminary expedients are not performed before any repentance] then the mind [intent upon the] way will not emerge, the practice will not accord with the dharma, and there will be nothing with which to effect the descent [of Buddha] 無所感降."[146]

There is little doubt that the particular buddha called upon was considered to possess a power quite independent from the mind of the practitioner, a power to which the adept had access through the ardent performance of rites of invocation and supplication. The following two passages from the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* lend further credence to this reading:

> In the sanctuary the practitioner must bitterly apply himself to confession, giving rise to a mind of settled determination and raising the great vows. He should cast aside body, life, and property without attachment or regret.... Having made such a resolution, he should call upon the Buddhas of the ten directions to act as his witness and come to his aid. If his heart is genuine and free of deceit, he can stimulate

> the Tathāgatas, who send forth their radiant light and illumine and remove his obstructions.[147]

> There are four ways of elucidating the karmic signs 業相. The first is through the causes and conditions 因縁 behind the emergence of the sign.... Causes and conditions [in turn can be classified as] internal or external. Internal refers to the investigation of the mind through cessation and discernment. The mind gradually becomes clear and pure, illuminating good and evil.... External [causes and conditions] refers to all buddhas who ceaselessly, with love and compassion, respond to all [beings]. If beings lack the necessary impetus, they will be unable to gain the attention [of the buddhas], but through the power of cessation and discernment they can stimulate all buddhas 衆生無機不能得覩以止觀力能感諸佛.[148]

The term "*chi*," or "impetus," is multivalent in Buddhist materials, but in the context at hand it is that which allows the practitioner to affect or impel the Buddha; the Buddha responds to this latent potential accumulated by the practitioner through meritorious karmic activity.[149] The notion of "impetus" is thus closely associated with sympathetic resonance, and it served as the focus of many of the Ch'eng-lun and San-lun controversies mentioned above.[150] Chih-i, remaining true to San-lun principles, is careful to insist that ultimately one can assert neither the identity nor the difference of supplicant and buddha, or of impetus and response. The following exchange is taken from the *Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i*:

> Question: As for the impetus of living beings and the response of the sage, are they identical or are they different? If they are identical, then in fact there is neither impetus nor response. If they are different, then how is it that they interact 相交關 in such a way that they are discussed [in terms of] impetus and response?
>
> Answer: They are neither identical nor different. Discussed in terms of principle, they are the same and cannot be differentiated. Discussed in terms of phenomena, there is both impetus and response, and hence they are not identical. It can be likened to the natural relationship between father and son. One cannot say that the body of flesh and bones passed down [from father to son] is different, and yet were they the same, the father would be none other than the son and the son none other than the father; hence they cannot be called the same. Therefore, being neither identical nor different, they are discussed in terms of father and son. The fundamental nature of living beings and buddha cannot be distinguished, and therefore they are not different. Yet [this nature] is concealed in the case of living beings and manifest in the case of the tathāgata, and therefore they are not identical. Being

> neither identical nor different, they are discussed in terms of impetus and response.[151]

The analogy to the relationship between father and son alludes to the "prodigal son" tale in chapter 4 of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra,* a tale often used to illustrate the relationship between buddha and devotee. The tale attests to the skill with which a buddha adjusts his response to the capacity or potential of the disciple. This skill, expressed in terms such as *sui-chi* 隨機 (in accord with the impetus) and *chi-ying* 機應 (responding to the impetus), is similarly associated with the doctrines of skillful means and multiple bodies of the buddha. The following passage from the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* explains the principle of stimulus-response in conjunction with this skillful means:

> Question: Does the practitioner himself give rise to the mind [of enlightenment], or does the teaching of others give rise to such a mind? Answer: [Distinctions between] self, other, both self and other, or neither self nor other—none of these can be attained. It is only through the interaction between stimulus and response that we can discuss the arising of mind. It is like a child falling into water or fire; the parents frantically try to rescue him. As it says in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: "When the child is ill, the parents too are ill."[152] The *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* says: "A father and mother are inclined to favor a sick child."[153] [Bodhisattvas so moved] move the [immovable] mountain of dharma-nature and enter the sea of birth and death; there they engage in the illness-practice and the children-practice 病行嬰児行.[154] This is what is meant by giving rise to the mind [of enlightenment] through stimulus and response 感應發心. The *Dhyāna-sūtra* says: "The Buddha expounds the dharma by according with [his audience] in four ways: according with their joys, according with what is appropriate, according with what should be regulated, and according with truth itself."[155] In order to win over their minds, he preaches by gladdening their hearts. Taking cognizance of their karmic propensities accumulated from past lives, he gives them practices that are easy for them to maintain. Discerning the gravity of their illnesses, he provides them with the appropriate amount of medicine. When the time is ripe to trigger the Way, then simply hearing [the teaching] they awaken fully to the Way. Is this not the benefit of stimulus and response that accords with the right impetus 隨機感應利益?[156]

The *Mo-ho chih-kuan* is unambiguous: neither the mind of the practitioner nor the teaching alone can give rise to awakening; there must be a confluence between the two.

The opening sections of Chih-i's second major commentary to the *Lotus Sūtra,* the *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching wen-chü* 妙法蓮華經文句 (T.1718),

introduces four modes of exegesis (*ssu-shih* 四釋). These are four different vantage points from which the Buddhist scriptures can be approached, namely, (1) "exegesis with respect to cause and condition" (*yin-yüan shih* 因縁釋), which is also called "exegesis with respect to stimulus and response" (*kan-ying shih* 感應釋); (2) "exegesis with respect to the classification of the teachings" (*yüeh-chiao shih* 約教釋, based on Chih-i's *p'an-chiao*); (3) "exegesis with respect to fundamentals and traces" (*pen-chi shih* 本迹釋); and (4) "exegesis with respect to discerning mind" (*kuan-hsin shih* 觀心釋).[157] The first is explained as follows:

> [Exegesis with respect to] cause and condition is also called exegesis with respect to stimulus and response. If living beings lack the impetus, then even though they may be near [the Buddha or his doctrine], they do not perceive it, but if they have the strength of the good roots of compassion, although they may be far, they can yet penetrate it. Because there is an interaction between stimulus and response, we use the terminology of causes and conditions in our explanation. When sentient beings seek liberation, the impetuses are plentiful, and the sage's responses are similarly plentiful.[158]

This first mode of exegesis is further subdivided under the rubric of the four *siddhānta*s (*ssu hsi-t'an* 四悉檀), or "points of view," namely, (1) the worldly point of view (*shih-chieh hsi-t'an* 世界悉檀), (2) the individual point of view (*wei-jen hsi-t'an* 爲人悉檀), (3) the therapeutic point of view (*tui-chih hsi-t'an* 對治悉檀), and (4) the ultimate point of view (*ti-i-i hsi-t'an* 第一義悉檀).[159] Chih-i comments on the last of these, the ultimate point of view: "In respect to dharma-nature the Buddha is without movement and does not appear, and yet he is able to cause living beings to stimulate and perceive his movement and appearance 佛於法性無動無出、能令衆生感見動出. Yet with respect to the Tathāgata there is, in reality, an absence of both movement and appearance. This is the explanation [of stimulus and response] from the perspective of the supreme truth."[160] Here the principle of cause and condition, or *yin-yüan* 因縁, is explicitly identified with *kan-ying*. This brings me to the heart of the matter, namely, the conflation of two fundamentally disparate notions, one Indian and one Chinese.

The term "*yin-yüan*" was used in early Chinese translations as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *hetu-pratyaya* (primary and secondary causes, or causes and conditions), but in time it came to denote causation in general and codependent origination (Sk. *pratītyasamutpāda*) in particular.[161] Causation was a central concern in Indian philosophical

and religious speculation. Early Indian Buddhist scholastics, on the one hand, were committed to an atomistic conception of the world, in which phenomenal events were analyzed in terms of the interactions among infinitesimal, irreducible, material and immaterial dharmas. This approach necessitated an account of causation that could explain how seemingly autonomous and instantaneous events interacted both synchronically and in causal chains. The Chinese, on the other hand, perceived the cosmos in terms of the cyclic movements of the five phases, the ethers, and *yin* and *yang*, which respond to each other through the principle of sympathetic resonance—a cosmological view that did not predispose them to philosophical problems of causation per se. The principle of sympathetic resonance was, however, functionally analogous to Indian theories of causation insofar as it too served as the metaphysical foundation for theoretical explanations of ritual efficacy, action at a distance, the inevitability of moral recompense, and so on.

Once the association is established between sympathetic resonance and "causation," the former concept can be applied in the exegesis of *yin-yüan* even when the scriptural passage at hand has little to do with the principle of causation proper. For example, the Kumārajīva translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* contains the phrase "*i-ta-shih yin-yüan*" 一大事因縁 (Sk. *ekakṛtya*), the "single great cause [behind the appearance of buddhas in the world]."[162] This "great cause" is none other than the desire on the part of all buddhas to save living beings. Chih-i expounds on the phrase "*i-ta-shih yin-yüan*" in a section on *bodhicitta* in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*:

> Why "single"? Because it is a single reality and is not false, because it is the purity of the single way, and because it is the one way out of *saṃsāra* for all those who are free of obstacles.... "Activity" 事 refers to the formal procedures 儀式 employed by the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three worlds through which they themselves attained the buddha-way and through which they bring salvation to all beings. Therefore, it is called "activity." "Cause and condition" 因縁 refers to the fact that through this cause all beings stimulate the Buddha 感佛, and this condition gives rise to the Buddha's response 應. Therefore, we speak of cause and condition.[163]

Chih-i repeatedly explains the efficacy of Buddhist ritual praxis—the cause-and-effect relationship established between supplicant and buddha—in terms of the cosmology of sympathetic resonance. This cosmology is conjoined to the theory of the five phases, and thus it is

natural to find Chih-i invoking the five phases in a section on the primary elements (Sk. *mahābhūta*) and the twelve-linked chain of codependent origination. After enumerating each link in the chain, he explains the primary elements as follows:

> The color blue is born from wood, yellow from earth, red from fire, white from wind, and black from water. Moreover, we discern that wood comes from water, water from wind, wind from the *yang ch'i* of earth, earth from fire, fire from wood, and wood again is from water. In this manner they follow each other around a circle and begin again. Nothing arises of itself. If we examine the external five phases, they function in the same manner; the same is true of the internal five viscera. The liver is born of blue pneuma, the heart of red pneuma, the lungs of white pneuma, the kidneys of black pneuma, and the stomach of yellow pneuma.[164]

It is not surprising that Chih-i or his editor Kuan-ting, both of whom were steeped in the Chinese literary tradition, should have understood the Buddhist theory of causation in terms of sympathetic resonance. The resulting conflation allowed the soteriological principle underlying the Buddhist doctrine of "grace" to be elucidated in native Chinese terms, while remaining commensurate with Mahāyāna principles of codependence and emptiness. In other words, the identification of cause/effect with stimulus/response is metaphysically felicitous, as both were readily construed as relationships of codependence. Again I quote the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*: "As for the expression 'causes and conditions,' sometimes the cause lies in the sage and the condition in the ordinary person, while sometimes the cause lies in the ordinary person and the condition in the sage. This is the mutual interaction of stimulus and response."[165]

Conclusion

The Chinese notion of sympathetic resonance was both powerful enough and malleable enough to lend itself to a variety of Buddhist hermeneutical tasks. Tsung-mi, for example, employs it in his account of the Ch'an patriarchal succession:

> Bodhidharma came from the west only in order to transmit the mind dharma. Thus he himself said: "My dharma is transmitted from mind to mind and does not depend on words or letters." This mind is the pure and original awakening of all sentient beings. It is also known as buddha-nature or numinous awakening 靈覺 . . . . If you wish to seek the Way of the Buddhas, you must awaken to this mind. Therefore, the

> generations of patriarchs in this lineage transmit only this. If there is a sympathetic resonance and reciprocal tallying [between master and disciple] 感應相契, then although a single flame may be transmitted to a hundred thousand lamps, there will be no difference between them.[166]

The seeming paradox that sits at the heart of Ch'an dogma is how buddha-nature, which is both innate in all living beings and yet beyond time and space, can be the subject of a historical transmission. In Tsung-mi's account, it is precisely because master and disciple share the same essential nature (i.e., they are of the same category, or *lei*) that the master's stimulus can bring about the student's response, effecting a historical "transmission" of something that transcends history. Moreover, in adopting the language of stimulus-response, Tsung-mi associates the transmission of the patriarchy with ritual invocation: to transmit the dharma is to conjure a buddha, rendering the dharma-heir a "living icon" worthy of ritual veneration (Foulk and Sharf 1993–1994). The Ch'an understanding of transmission, like the T'ien-t'ai understanding of Buddhist praxis, is predicated on a thoroughly sinified conception of Buddhist soteriology.

In my introduction to this study, I called into question the notion of a normative Indian Mahāyāna that might serve as a standard against which to evaluate the "fidelity" of Chinese Buddhist doctrine and practice. I further raised questions concerning the adequacy of the term "syncretism" as it is commonly applied to Chinese religious phenomena. All too often the scholarly use of the term is predicated on an essentialist conception of Chinese schools and sects, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. In this chapter I have suggested an alternative context in which to place Chinese Buddhist texts and doctrines, one that redirects attention to the ubiquitous and persistent influence of native Chinese cosmology. Some of the most sophisticated and influential Chinese Buddhist exegetes consistently understood Indian Buddhism—including both the path (the logic of practice and worship) and the goal (seeing the Buddha, realizing one's buddha-nature)—in the light of classical Chinese ideas.

In venturing into the hermeneutics of sinification, I have sought to provide a robust framework for the translation and interpretation of the *Treasure Store Treatise* that follows. I will show that the diverse and seemingly disconnected philosophical strands that run through the text can be rendered commensurate when placed within the context of native Chinese thought in general and sympathetic resonance in

particular. This is not to impugn the "Buddhism" of the *Treasure Store Treatise*; rather, I aim to go beyond the surface appearance of the text, which might otherwise appear as an undisciplined potpourri of Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist ideas. Instead, the text turns out to be a coherent, sometimes elegant, and compendious presentation of the particular brand of eighth-century Buddhist thought that came to be identified with Ch'an.

Part 2

Annotated Translation of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

Introduction to the Translation

The *Treasure Store Treatise* belongs to a loosely defined genre of Chinese literature known as *lun* 論 (essay, disquisition), a genre that affords the author considerable latitude in matters of compositional structure and style. Early Chinese literary critics agree that a *lun* should be "refined" or "subtle" (*ching-wei* 精微), and "logical" or "reasonable" (*li* 理) but offer little more.[1] As I suggested in Chapter 1, the *Treasure Store Treatise* appears to have been composed self-consciously in the style of Buddhist treatises of the Six Dynasties period, evoking the "mystical" tone of dark-learning authors like Wang Pi (226–249) as well as early Chinese Buddhist essayists such as Seng-chao, and there are copious allusions to the works that preoccupied such writers, notably the *Tao-te ching* and the *Chuang-tzu.*

As is typical of Chinese literary prose, the *Treasure Store Treatise* makes liberal use of parallelism, including metrical, grammatical (lexical and syntactic), and phonic parallel constructions. The text also abounds in puns, rhymes, assonance, alliteration, and other euphonic devices. Such devices seem designed, at least in part, to display the author's erudition and literary virtuosity. However, the parallelism of the *Treasure Store Treatise* is not nearly as regulated or structured as "parallel prose" proper (*p'ien-t'i wen* 駢體文),[2] and the phrasing of the *Treasure Store Treatise* is generally four characters in length. Such phrasing results in an imposing thumpity-thump that might well seem tiresome, if not cloying, to those familiar with more sophisticated genres of T'ang literature.

The monotony of the four-character phrasing is broken by the occasional transitional particle such as *fu* 夫 (marking a change in topic), *ku* 故 ("therefore"), or *shih-i* 是以 ("hence"). The overall effect is reminiscent of a number of early Ch'an works, notably the verse composi-

tions associated with the Ox Head lineage—the *Hsin-wang ming*, *Hsin ming*, *Hsin-hsin ming*, and so on—discussed in Chapter 1. By the T'ang, the four-character poetic form was falling out of favor, having been supplanted by verse in lines of five or seven characters. The dominant use of four-character phrasing in these early Ch'an texts gives them an antiquated tone, lending them the authority of age. It also renders the task of translation particularly difficult, as the shorter phrases allow for fewer grammatical or syntactic markers.

The *Treasure Store Treatise* alludes to a wide variety of works through the use of readily identifiable terminology, tropes, and even syntactic structures. As the text progresses, there is an increased use of scriptural quotation to punctuate and bolster the argument. Most of the identifiable quotations are culled from Buddhist sūtras popular in eighth-century China, although the sources are never explicitly named. The concise and laconic compositional style, the frequent use of parallel four-character lines without connectives, and the many textual allusions result in a complex and multilayered text that is, at times, well-nigh impenetrable.

In translating the text I have adopted the principle of charity: I assume the *Treasure Store Treatise* to be meaningful and coherent. One might offer an aesthetic or moral defense for this stance, but I prefer a functional one: it is simply unavoidable, since incoherence is, in a word, incoherent. At the same time, there is no avoiding the difficulties encountered in the attempt to uncover the context in which such coherence must be situated. This raises a host of hermeneutic issues, including the cross-cultural application of standards for "coherence" or "rationality," that I will resist exploring here. Certainly, there is reason to believe that the audience of a medieval Chinese Buddhist composition would have judged the text's success according to criteria that today's Western reader might find perplexing, if not flawed. The Chinese, as many have noted, do not always place as much value as we might on logical rigor in the abstract Aristotelian sense. At the same time, a Chinese reader might laud the literary elegance and persuasive force of an argument by analogy that a modern philosopher would castigate as spurious or sophistic.[3]

In a similar vein, one must remember that not every statement in a Chinese essay or *lun* is meant to be an assertion, whether ethical, soteriological, or philosophical. Language functions in many ways, not all of which are pleasing to logicians. Richard Robinson has characterized the rhetorical mode dominant in Chinese San-lun composi-

tions as "persuasive," in contradistinction to the "demonstrative" mode that Robinson considers more typical of Indian Mādhyamika works:

> The rhetorical structure of Mādhyamika works is varied and elaborate. Certain figures are common to most texts of the school—for instance, simile and oxymoron. Certain other features are not found in demonstrative texts but occur frequently in persuasive texts, for example, metaphor, climax, and double entendre. The latter in particular was highly developed by Chinese Buddhists in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The principle is part of the doctrine of *upāya* (skillful means); the sūtras say that the Buddha spoke with one voice (sound), and each hearer understood whatever it was appropriate for him to understand. The principle was also esteemed by Six Dynasties litterateurs, who relished systematic multivalence not only in poetry but in prose. The skillful Buddhist essayist could at once gain entree to literary circles and cast unwelcome ideas in a welcome form by contriving his essay so that it would seem Taoist to the Taoist, Buddhist to those who understood, and aesthetically pleasing to everyone. (Robinson 1976:17)

The *Treasure Store Treatise* is an apt example of a *persuasive* text in Robinson's sense of the term: it is written in the compendious and highly textured literary style, dense with allusion, that was esteemed by educated Chinese. The overall effect is to affirm the aesthetic, moral, and philosophical values of the literati, while subsuming those same values within the Buddhist fold.

The *Treasure Store Treatise* emerged, as I have shown, from the ideological world associated with early Ch'an. The Buddhist appropriation of the aesthetic and moral values of the literati played an important role in the evolution of Ch'an doctrine and literature and was in large part responsible for its later dominance. The process is dialectical: on the one hand, the "Ch'annish" manipulation and extension of the *upāya* doctrine allowed educated Chinese Buddhist monks to appropriate freely the best of the non-Buddhist classical tradition. On the other hand, the wholesale appropriation of Chinese values, Chinese rhetorical modes, and Chinese literary conventions would affect every aspect of Ch'an thought and practice.

Mikhail Bakhtin developed a conceptual model that captures the tendency to affirm tradition, on the one hand, and assail and transform it on the other. He writes of two major and somewhat opposing forces operative in literary texts—the centripetal and the centrifugal. Centripetal forces are those that "serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world. Unitary language constitutes the theoretical

expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited" (Bakhtin 1981:270).

Such centripetal forces, reflecting the urge toward verbal-ideological unity, are central to what is commonly known as "sinification." The tendency to recast Indian Buddhist doctrine in the language and terminology of the classical canon—that is, the adoption and manipulation of terms such as "Way" (*tao* 道), "gateway" (*men* 門), "awakening" (*chüeh* 覺), "principle" (*li* 理), and "nature" (*hsing* 性)—frames the controversies between Confucians, Taoists, and Buddhists as an ongoing dispute over competing descriptions of the same world rather than a conflict between different and ultimately irreconcilable worlds.

At the same time, in reconstructing the social and historical context of a particular work, one begins to discern the polemic, sectarian, individual, and rebellious voices that usurp and fracture the guise of unity. These are, to use Bakhtin's terminology, the centrifugal forces, which act to decentralize the verbal-ideological world. But such decentralizing elements are coextensive with the centralizing elements: "Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance; the utterance not only answers the requirements of its own language as an individualized embodiment of a speech act, but it answers the requirements of heteroglossia as well" (Bakhtin 1981:272).

The *Treasure Store Treatise* abounds in such heteroglossia. It draws from a variety of sources, doctrines, and traditions, and struggles to weave the disparate voices into a coherent and satisfying whole. But this goal is by no means ecumenical; like the *p'an-chiao* (tenet classification) schemes that came to dominate intra-Buddhist polemics, the goal is to appropriate or expropriate competing universalizing discourses. In the case of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, the immediate competition was gentry Taoism, a rival intellectual heritage that, by the mid-eighth century, had come to enjoy an unprecedented level of imperial support.

The Text

The Taishō edition used for the current translation was compiled on the basis of two woodblock editions: (1) the text contained in the

Leng-yen temple edition of the Chinese canon (Leng-yen-ssu pan 楞嚴寺版, commonly known as the Wan-li edition 萬曆版), which was in the possession of Zōjōji 增上寺 in Tokyo and is dated the twenty-second year of the Wan-li period (1594), and (2) a printed Japanese edition that belonged to the library of Shūkyō University 宗教大學, dated the fifth year of the Hōei 寶永 period (1708). The differences between the two editions are few and of little significance.[4] The Taishō version is itself virtually identical to the editions found in the *Shukusatsu zōkyō* 縮刷藏經 (32.1.1a–5b) and the *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 (*HTC* 96.23c–30b), which is to be expected, as both are based in turn on the Wan-li text.

While the received recension of the *Treasure Store Treatise* can be dated only as far back as the Ming, there is every reason to believe that it remains close to its original form. There is no evidence of missing sections or later accretions, and quotations from the *Treasure Store Treatise* found in other T'ang and Sung documents closely match the received text. That the *Treasure Store Treatise* comprises three well-integrated chapters of roughly equal length and closes with a summary and conclusion mentioning each chapter by name suggests that it was originally composed as a whole, rather than being pieced together from a number of shorter works.

The Translation

Like most scholarly translators of medieval Chinese texts, I have tried to strike a balance between a more philologically precise translation, which would ideally incorporate significant syntactic as well as lexical aspects of the original, and a fluid and idiomatic English rendering. Such a balance is, in the best of situations, difficult to achieve, and given how little is known of the provenance of the present work and the obscurity of many passages, my translation is at times stilted and occasionally little more than guesswork. In any event it must be considered provisional pending future research.

While there is something to be said for maintaining single translation equivalents for key technical terms, this is not always possible or even desirable. Thus *chien* 見 is sometimes "perception," sometimes "views," sometimes "vision." While I often use "essential principle" for *tsung* 宗, "seminal essence" for *ching* 精, and "substance" for *t'i* 體, at times I render each simply as "essence." And *ching* appears occasionally as "specter." These are but a few examples. The problem is not only that there may not be an English term with the same semantic

range as the Chinese but that the Chinese terms often have multiple meanings. For the most part, such terminological difficulties are dealt with in my commentary.[5]

The Commentary

It is known that a number of Chinese commentaries to the *Treasure Store Treatise* were written in the medieval period. The *Hsin-pien chu-tsung chiao-tsang tsung-lu* 新編諸宗教藏總録, a Korean catalogue of 1101, mentions a *Pao-tsang-lun chu* 寶藏論註 in three fascicles by a Fa-tzu 法滋.[6] Yung-ming Yen-shou's 永明延壽 *Tsung-ching lu* 宗鏡録 mentions a work with an almost identical title—the *Pao-tsang-lun chu* 寶藏論注—which may refer to the same text by Fa-tzu.[7] And fascicle 67 of the *T'ung-chih* 通志 (dated 1161) makes reference to a *Hun-hun-tzu* 混渾子 in three fascicles, which may also have been a commentary to the *Treasure Store Treatise*; the annotation to the *T'ung-chih* entry reads: "The authorship [of this text] is unknown. It expounds upon the *Fa-tsang lun* (Dharma Store Treatise) by the dharma teacher Shih [Seng-]chao" 不知氏名所。釋肇法師法藏論主義 (Makita 1955:274). Unfortunately, all of these commentaries are now lost, and no one seems to know what happened to the preface to the *Treasure Store Treatise* by Huai-hui, reportedly seen by T'ang Yung-t'ung many years ago (see Chapter 1).

My own running commentary is broken into sections interspersed throughout the translation. The breaks in the translation are determined both by the internal structure of the text and by matters of expedience. While my commentary ventures into a variety of domains, the focus is on matters pertaining to doctrine, technical terminology, literary style, and textual allusions. The more arcane philological notes have been relegated to the notes.

There are thirty or so scriptural quotations in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, most of which are introduced with the phrase "therefore, the scripture says" 故經云. Only about one-third of these have been identified. I draw attention to these quotations only when the source is known or the content warrants comment. A complete list of all quotations found in the *Treasure Store Treatise* can be found in Appendix 2 to this study.

3

The *Treasure Store Treatise* Chapter One:

The Broad Illumination of Emptiness and Being

The "treasure store" (*pao-tsang*) of the title exemplifies the hyperglossia—the complex interplay of often countervailing voices—that dominate the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The term "*pao*" (treasure) was used in antiquity to denote treasure objects held in the possession of a clan or royal household, particularly the royal house of Chou. The earliest such treasures were thought to have been bestowed by mythical animals and consisted of markings on stones, dragon scales, tortoise shells, and pieces of jade.[1] These treasures, which included bronze tripods, a wide miscellany of heavenly talismans, tablets with sacred ciphers, mysterious diagrams (*t'u* 圖), and other ritual objects, were the material receptacles for the spiritual numen (*ling* 靈).

According to the *Tso-chuan*, "the treasures are for the protection of the people" 寶以保民也 (Legge 1961:5.671), a definition that plays on the Chinese homophones *pao* 寶 meaning "treasure" and *pao* 保 meaning "to protect."[2] The discovery of such a treasure was trumpeted as a token of heaven's favor; it was tangible evidence of the emperor's virtue and his possession of the mandate of heaven. Seidel notes that the treasures

> were not necessarily unique or precious. They were not used in any kind of commercial exchange, and only exceptionally as gifts, but they were kept hidden and their possession had the mystical value of symbolizing a clan's good fortune. In the case of the royal family, they constituted the sacra or regalia of the dynasty.... During the Warring States period, ambitious princes became more and more interested in such signs of divine protection, and there developed a science of prognostication and of interpretation of these miraculous objects. (Seidel 1983:299–300)

Kaltenmark and Seidel have traced the historical origins of the Taoist "revelation texts" to the Han apocrypha (*ch'an-wei* 讖緯), which

were themselves imperial treasures, or *pao*. Such texts were treasures not only because they contained a message of spiritual potency but because they were themselves objects of mystical power—sacred talismans to be cherished and venerated.[3]

The fascination with heavenly *pao* continued well into the T'ang period, particularly during the reigns of emperors partial to Taoism. Hsüan-tsung's reign was punctuated by the appearance of a number of such treasures, beginning in the year 713, when a "jade treasure" (*yü-pao* 玉寶) was discovered after a heavy rain opened up a fissure in the palace grounds. In 741 an epiphany of Lao-tzu led to the discovery of a jade tablet with red characters, prompting Hsüan-tsung to change the name of his reign to T'ien-pao 天寶 (Heavenly Treasure). His son, Su-tsung (r. 756–762), was similarly blessed: in 762 the district governor of Ch'u-chou discovered thirteen "state treasures" (*kuo-pao* 國寶) comprising a jade fowl, a jade disk, jade rings, a stone axe, and various beads, gems, and seals, whereupon the emperor adopted the new reign title Pao-ying 寶應 (Treasure Response).[4]

Morohashi cites a number of derived meanings for *pao*, including *shen* 神 (divine), and *tao* 道 (Way), and notes the use of the term as a prefix in Taoist and Buddhist compounds (MH 1.1114). The term "*pao*" was thus a natural choice to render the Sanskrit *ratna*, which generally means "gem" or "jewel" but can also mean (as an appositional modifier or in nominal compounds) "jeweled" or "precious." Accordingly, *pao* appears in numerous Buddhist compounds, including *san-pao* 三寶 (Sk. *triratna*, "three jewels," i.e., buddha, dharma, and *saṃgha*) and *pao-yin* 寶印 (precious seal, a term appearing in the *Treasure Store Treatise*).[5]

The original meaning of *tsang* 藏 (pronounced "*ts'ang*" when used verbally) was "to store away," "to secret away," "storehouse," "granary," and so on. It is etymologically related to its homophone *tsang* 臟, used for the inner body in general and the internal organs in particular—the microcosmic home of the Taoist divinities. In Chinese translations of Indic materials, *tsang* appears in the compounds *ju-lai tsang* 如來藏 (Sk. *tathāgatagarbha*, matrix of buddhahood) and *san-tsang* 三藏 (Sk. *tripiṭaka*, three baskets, i.e., the scriptural canon), both of which are repositories or embodiments of truth. This sense of *tsang* as the fount of *bodhi* is further developed in medieval Chinese Buddhist writings. In his *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu* 圓覺經大疏 (Great Commentary to the Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra), for example, Tsung-mi writes: "The 'storehouse' is what the *Ratnagotravibhāga* calls the 'storehouse

of the dharma-realm'[6] and what the *Awakening of Faith* calls the 'true suchness of mind.'[7] It is the source of all buddhas and sentient beings, the inner essence of the divine radiance [of the buddhas]. Innumerable meritorious functions are garnered within, and a hundred thousand penetrating rays of light blazon forth from it. Therefore, it is called the storehouse."[8]

As for the compound *pao-tsang* itself, it too is quite old, appearing in a variety of pre-Han and Han materials, where it denotes a vessel or repository for a precious treasure. (The *pao* of *pao-tsang* alludes to the heaven-bestowed treasures—the confirmations of divine favor—mentioned above.) But it also bears Taoist and shamanic overtones. The treasure store is a receptacle for the numinous, or *ling* 靈: the heavenly *ling* infuses the earthly *pao*.[9] "In heaven it is *ling*, on earth it is *pao*; in the mysterious void of heaven it is *ling*, in the receptacles it is *pao*" (Kaltenmark 1960:567–568). The Chinese shaman, like his Tungus cousins, acts as a receptacle for a divine agent, and the Taoist term "*ling-pao*" 靈寶 can refer to both human and material receptacles. In Taoist alchemy *pao* is used for the immortal embryo generated within the body—the seed of the transcendent being (*hsien* 仙) growing within the mortal. It is thus apropos that the immortal embryo within would come to be associated with the womb of buddhahood (*ju-lai tsang*).

In Buddhist materials *pao-tsang* appears as a synonym of *fa-tsang* 法藏 (dharma storehouse), meaning a Buddhist sūtra or scriptural collection.[10] But the specific sense of *pao-tsang* that dominates later Ch'an writings can be traced in part to the *Treasure Store Treatise* itself. The *pao-tsang* of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, according to Sung Ch'an writings, is a metaphor for the "true self"—the buddha-nature secreted within the human body.[11] The phrase from the *Treasure Store Treatise* most often quoted in later Ch'an literature plays on precisely this metaphor: "Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain" (145b23–24). But despite the Buddhist permutations and abstractions, the term "*pao*," occurring in the midst of the multivocalic poetics of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, retains conspicuous traces of its Taoist and shamanic heritage.

Translation and Commentary

143b14 **The Treasure Store Treatise**

Written by the Śramaṇa Shih Seng-chao of Ch'ang-an

Chapter One: The Broad Illumination of Emptiness and Being

> **Emptiness that can be deemed empty is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form is not true form. True form is without shape; true emptiness has no name. That which has no name is the father of [all] names, and that which has no form, the mother of [all] forms.[12] They are the source of the myriad things, the Great Ancestor of heaven and earth.**

Emptiness that can be deemed empty is not true emptiness. Form that can be deemed form is not true form 空可空非眞空、色可色非眞色: These opening lines are a blazon pastiche of the first lines of the *Tao-te ching*: "The Way that can be talked about is not the constant Way. The name that can be named is not the constant name" 道可道非常道、名可名非常名.[13] The allusion would be obvious to any educated Chinese, and it sets the tone for the interweaving of voices that follows.

The text unfolds with a cosmogony loosely drawn from a variety of classical sources. It is not unusual for Taoist scriptures to begin with a genesis myth such as found here. (The tale of the P'eng bird that opens the *Chuang-tzu* comes to mind.) While the Taoists never settled on any single cosmogonic scheme, most are modeled on chapter 42 of the *Tao-te ching*: "The Tao begets One; One begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad things." The differences between cosmogonies lay primarily in how they interpreted the "one," the "two," the "three," and so on. I will return to this point in my translation of chapter 3 of the treatise, which quotes *Tao-te ching* 42.

The degree to which Taoist scriptures were modeled on Buddhist archetypes has been well documented.[14] Scriptures of the Ling-pao corpus are particularly striking in their wholesale borrowing of Buddhist stylistic devices—what Zürcher calls "formal borrowing" (1980: 86). They typically open in imitation of the *nidāna* formula found at the beginning of Buddhist sūtras relating the circumstances in which the scripture was preached. The reverse—the incorporation of Taoist stylistic elements in a nominally Buddhist treatise—is less common.

The specific cosmogony of the *Treatise*, following the lead of the *Tao-te ching*, depicts the world as evolving out of the hidden, undifferentiated Tao. As this vision unfolds, there is a fusion of ontological, epistemological, and ethical themes; the evolution of the natural order, the social order, and the moral order is regarded as one and the same process.

Form (*hsing* 形): The term appears here in contrast with *ming* 名. Numerous problems arise in the rendering of crucial terms such as *hsing*, *se* 色, and *ming*. I have retained "emptiness" for *k'ung* 空, and "form" for *se*, as these translations are now more or less standard in technical Buddhist contexts, where they are used for Sanskrit *śūnya* and *rūpa*. But *hsing* may also be "form," as well as "appearance" and "shape." Note the expression *hsing-shan* 形山 (form-mountain) later in this text (145b23–24), which, in subsequent Ch'an commentaries, is interpreted as a metaphor for the physical body.

Great Ancestor (*t'ai-tsu* 太祖): In the T'ang this term, which goes back to the Chinese classics, referred to the clan patriarch, the person "first enfeoffed with the land or property that became the patrimony of the lineage" (Wechsler 1985:127). Here it functions as an epithet or metaphor for the Tao, the generative source of all things.

> 143b20 **Extended above are the mysterious [stellar] schemata, and arrayed below lie the courts of darkness. The primordial pneuma is contained within the great schemata, and the great schemata lie concealed in the formless as the numen of sentient things.**[15] **[Dormant] within the numen are spirits, and within the spirits are bodies.**

Mysterious [stellar] schemata (*hsüan-hsiang* 玄象): The term "*hsiang*" appears as far back as the oracle bones and evokes the cosmological and metaphysical worldview examined earlier in this study under the rubric of "sympathetic response." Originally meaning "elephant" (bone inscriptions show its origin to be the image of an elephant) or "ivory," it also came to mean "figure," "to represent," "to depict," "to imitate," "image," "shape," "appearance," "emblem," and so on.[16] Wechsler suggests that it is "perhaps the closest approximation in premodern Chinese for our words 'symbol' or 'symbolize' in the sense of substitution for or representation of physical or emblematic objects" (1985:33). Wechsler is thinking of the use of *hsiang* in the *Shih chi* 史記 , which speaks of the twelve "*hsiang* of the ancients" 古人之象 that were worn on the robes of the kings: the sun, moon, constellation, mountains, dragons, pheasants, bronze libation cups, water weeds, flames, seeds of grain, ax, and the *fu* symbol (a mark of distinction; Wechsler 1985:33). But the translation "symbol" does not fully capture the significance of these markings. The *Yao-tien* 堯典 (Statutes of Yao) chapter of the *Shang-shu* (Book of Documents), one of the oldest surviving works of Chinese literature, speaks of "calculating the

[movements of the] *hsiang*: the sun, moon, stars, and constellations" 曆象日月星辰. The fact that the monarch wore celestial emblems on his robes suggests a deep interrelationship between the movements of the heavenly bodies and the ritual activity of the king. This relationship was but one aspect of what Schafer, following Needham and others, has called the "theory of correspondences":

> Celestial events are the "counterparts" or "simulacra" [*hsiang*] of terrestrial events; sky things have doppelgängers below, with which they are closely attuned. "In the sky are formed counterparts 象; on the earth are formed contours 形."[17] . . . "Correspondence" has been defined as the relationship between the cosmic and political realms, or the natural and human worlds, or between macrocosm and microcosm, with the Son of Heaven as a critical nexus between them all, dedicated to maintaining the exactness of the correspondences by proper ritual observances.[18]

Hsiang were at one and the same time the natural schemata found in the heavens (the stars and constellations) and also their earthly representations. The *Ta chuan* 大傳 commentary to the *I ching* (1:8) makes the connection explicit: "The holy sages were able to survey all the confused diversities under heaven. They observed forms and phenomena, and made representations of things and their attributes. These were called Images 象."[19] The images of the *I ching* are thus representations, or *hsiang* 像—etymologically related to the homophone *hsiang* 象—of the patterns in heaven.

The compound that appears here, *hsüan-hsiang*, the mysterious schemata, commonly denotes the stars and asterisms in the heavens above; it appears as such in the *Chao lun*, for example.[20] But these schemata are also present in the diagrams of the *I ching*, in the regalia of state power, and at various other levels in the micro-macrocosmic hierarchy. It would seem to be this inclusive use of the term, as found in the *Tao-te ching*, that is intended by the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

The term "*hsiang*" occurs in *Tao-te ching* 14, where it is used in connection with the Tao itself: "It returns to that devoid of substance. This is called the shape without shape, the schemata without substance" 無物之象. Again, in chapter 21: "Indistinct and dim, yet within lies the schemata" 其中有象. Both passages suggest that, for the *Tao-te ching*, the *hsiang* share the same ontological primacy as does the Tao. Schafer would seem to be correct when he objects to the use of "symbol" as an equivalent for *hsiang* and suggests instead "simulacrum," "counterpart," "analogue," and so on, since the *hsiang* cannot be

identified with the forms through which they are known (Schafer 1977: 5, 292 n. 8). Their ontological status is analogous to that of *li* 理, or "principle"—both refer to an underlying structure that configures manifest phenomena into coherent patterns. I use the English "schemata" in an attempt to capture this broad sense of the term, although in narrower contexts "image" will be used.[21]

Courts of darkness (*ming-t'ing* 冥庭): This is likely an allusion to the courts of the kings of hell, which lie on the lowest strata of this world system.

Primordial pneuma (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣): This concept goes back to the *Han shu* 漢書, where it refers to the original pneuma that gave birth to heaven and earth.[22] T'ang Taoist meditation practices were based on an elaborate theory of multiple pneumas, including the "interior pneuma" (*nei-ch'i* 內氣), originating in the depths of the lower cinnabar field, which stood in opposition to the relatively coarse "exterior pneuma" (*wai-ch'i* 外氣). The interior pneuma is identified with the primordial pneuma—the creative principle of the universe itself—thereby establishing yet another homology between humankind and the cosmos. The object of the Taoist practice known as the "circulation of the pneumas" was the control, conservation, and circulation of this interior pneuma throughout the body, taking care that it is not allowed to mingle with the external pneuma.[23] The *Yüan-ch'i lun* 元氣論, a text roughly contemporary with the *Treasure Store Treatise,* states:

> In being born man receives the primordial pneuma of heaven and earth, which becomes his spirit and his form. He receives the pneuma of the Original One 元一, which becomes his saliva and his essence.... The primordial pneuma is the source of the living pneuma, it is the pneuma in movement between the kidneys; this is the foundation of the five viscera, the root of the twelve arteries, the door of exhalation and inhalation, the source of the Three Burning Spaces. This pneuma is man's root. If the root is cut, the viscera, the receptacles, the nerves, and the arteries are like the branches and leaves; when the root is destroyed, the branches wither.[24]

Another T'ang Taoist tract, the *Ts'un-shen lien-ch'i ming* 存神鍊氣銘 by the alchemist Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 (581–682), says: "In order to calm the spirit, you must first of all refine the primordial pneuma. When this pneuma resides in the body, the spirit is calm and the pneuma is like an ocean."[25] Finally, the *Huang-t'ing ching* 黃庭經, a central scripture of the Shang-ch'ing Taoists who enjoyed con-

siderable influence and prestige in the early and mid-T'ang, reads: "Inhale the primordial pneuma and thereby seek transcendence" 呼吸元氣以求仙 (*nei* 20:1).

While the "primordial pneuma" was an important concept in T'ang Taoist discourse, it need not be interpreted here in any overly technical sense. It is perhaps best understood as the primordial energy that enlivened the cosmos at its conception and continues to animate all beings. It is used in this way by Tsung-mi, who devotes a section of his *Yüan-jen lun* 原人論 to a critique of the notion that sentient beings are engendered through the agency of the primordial pneuma alone.[26] He does not question the existence of such a force per se, but rather argues that the theory of the primordial pneuma cannot in and of itself account for consciousness, feelings, personality, and other aspects of existence addressed by Buddhist karma theory.

The great schemata lie concealed in the formless 大象隱於無形: This same phrase is found near the end of the *Chao lun*: "The mysterious Way resides beyond all realms and thus is attained by nonattaining. Ethereal wisdom lies outside of things and thus is known by nonknowing. The great schemata lie concealed in the formless and thus are seen by nonseeing" 大象隱於無形、故不見以見之.[27] The term "great schemata" (*ta-hsiang* 大象) is similar to the "mysterious schemata" above; it is a polyvalent cosmological term that alludes to *Tao-te ching* 35: "Take hold of the great schemata and all under heaven will come to you" 執大象天下往, and 41: "The great schemata are without form" 大象無形. This latter passage is no doubt responsible for the present association of the great schemata with the "formless" (*wu-hsing* 無形).

While commentaries to the *Tao-te ching* gloss *ta-hsiang* as an epithet for the Tao itself,[28] a more precise understanding of the term can be found in the *I ching*. The great schemata are the subject of extended discussion in the third and fourth Wings (*i* 翼), namely, the *Hsiang chuan* 象傳. Here a distinction is made between the "great images" 大象, that is, the two trigrams of the hexagram taken as wholes, and the "small images" 小象, which are enigmatic references to individual lines attributed to the Duke of Chou.[29] *Ta-hsiang* is understood as the image or idea of the situation manifest in the overall pattern of the hexagram. In the *Treasure Store Treatise* it would seem to denote the unifying patterns underlying the universe itself—the structures that precede the emergence of the bifurcated and variegated phenomena of the senses.

[Dormant] within the numen are spirits, and within the spirits are bodies 靈中有神、神中有身: In other words, the individuated spirits have yet to unfold from the numen, and the physical bodies have yet to unfold from the spirits. The language may allude to *Tao-te ching* 39: "The spirit attains the One and is thereby numinous.... If spirit lacked that by which it became numinous, it would wither away" 神得一以靈 ... 神無以靈將恐歇.

I use "numen" for *ling* 靈 following Schafer (1967:8), although in Buddhist contexts "spirit" or even "soul" is often appropriate.[30] The term "*shen*" 身 (body) entails more than the "mere" material body of flesh and bones. In the *Treasure Store Treatise* it is sometimes juxtaposed with *hsin* 心 (mind), *shen* 神 (spirit), and so on, and as such it appears to denote the corporeal component of the self, as opposed to the more subtle, if not immaterial, mental or spiritual components. But *shen* can also refer to "personal identity," "individual personhood," or "individuality."

143b22 **No action, yet change and transformation—each endowed with spontaneity. Subtly there arise phenomena and functions, and gradually there develop forms and names. Forms emerge from that which has no substance, and names arise from that which has no name. As forms and names[31] multiply, the roaming pneumas confuse [what was] pure.**

[First] quiescent and still; [then] spacious and open; [finally] divided and differentiated. Above are the lords and below the ministers. Fathers and sons draw close in their dwellings, while the noble and the base distinguish their ranks. They give rise to teachings and assess their consequences. Thereupon the state divides into realms and people into clans, each protecting their own positions. The practice of rites and righteousness flourishes; there is "good" that can be lauded and "evil" that can be named, and the good is respected by people and evil disdained.[32] Thereupon there is affirmation and negation, and strife is born.

In understanding lies freedom, but ignorance brings bondage. Those above hand down proscriptions such that those below know neither peace nor joy. They lose their spontaneous will and impede their connection to the transcendent. They stray from the efficacy of nonaction, and their movements have the makings of purpose.

The process of creation outlined in the first paragraph above is one of progression from stillness to movement, unity to diversity, the fine to the coarse. It can be likened to the process of condensation or coagulation, wherein the formless (the schemata and the primordial pneuma) are transformed into subtle (*wei* 微) spiritual substances (the

numen and the spirit). Spirit and numen in turn give rise to the myriad phenomena and their functional potencies (*shih* 事 and *yung* 用), which are rendered by consciousness as name (*ming*) and form (*hsing*).

[First] quiescent and still; [then] spacious and open; [finally] divided and differentiated 寂兮寥兮、寬兮廓兮、分兮别兮: The initial four-character phrase is found in *Tao-te ching* 25: "There was something confusedly formed before the birth of heaven and earth. Quiescent and still, it stood alone and unchanging" 有物混成先天地生。寂兮寥兮獨立不改.[33] Wang Pi comments: "'Quiescent and still' means it is without form or body 寂寥無形體也 and without a mate. Therefore, it is said to 'stand alone.'" In a poetic diction borrowed from the *Tao-te ching* (see also the parallel phrasing in *Tao-te ching* 21), this segment recapitulates the notion that the variegated and differentiated world emerges from a state of amorphous chaos that comes before heaven and earth.

The *Treasure Store Treatise* proceeds forthwith from the evolution of the physical universe to the evolution of social and political structures. The separation of the order of heaven from that of humankind is foreign to classical Chinese thought; the same patterns underlying the natural order of heaven determine social order on earth.

More specifically, the passage concerns the ordering of society into family and kinship groups, a "natural" evolution in which we nevertheless become increasingly distant from the Way. The hierarchical patterning of social groups is inevitably the source of tension and divided allegiances, an issue of fundamental importance in Chou social and moral theory. In the "Evolution of Rites" 禮運 chapter of the *Book of Rites*, this division of society into family groups is lamented:

> When the Great Way was practiced, the world was shared by all alike 天下爲公. The worthy and the able were promoted to office and men practiced good faith and lived in affection. Therefore they did not regard as parents only their own parents, or as sons only their own sons.... Now the Great Way has become hid and the world is the possession of private families 天下爲家. Each regards his parents as only his own parents, as sons only his own sons; goods and labor are employed for selfish ends.[34]

The *Treasure Store Treatise* passage reflects these perennial Chinese concerns, if not this actual passage. Despite the natural origins of the patterns of social organization, primordial harmony is eventually undermined by human institutions marked by artifice, self-interest,

and strife.[35] This Chinese conception of a past "golden age" eclipsed by a "fall from grace" finds expression in the sinified Buddhist notion of the "latter age" (*mo-shih* 末世) or "final period of the dharma" (*mo-fa* 末法), a time in which traditional forms of Buddhist praxis are no longer efficacious.[36]

There is "good" that can be lauded and "evil" that can be named, and the good is respected by people and evil disdained 有善可稱、有惡可名。善人所重、惡人所輕. Cf. *Tao-te ching* 2: "When everyone under heaven knows beauty as beauty, already there is ugliness. When everyone knows goodness as goodness, already there is badness" 天下皆知美之爲美斯惡已。皆知善之爲善斯不善已.

> 143c2 **Acting in accord with the doctrine of names, they force everything together into patterns of correspondence. In this manner sounds are organized according to the five modes, color according to the five colors, the phases according to the five phases, and virtue according to five virtues. Thus, if one errs by so much as a hair's breadth, the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain.**
>
> **Laws arise to prohibit that which has yet to occur, and orders are issued against urges people are yet to have. Without the vastness of the disordered and free, there is naught but a host of distinctions. All this because people do not know when enough is enough. In these corrupt and disordered times, there are students and there are teachers. The teachers cling to their traditions, and the students remain obedient to them.**

Doctrine of names (*ming-chiao* 名教): *Ming-chiao* is often translated as the "school of names," although it was not a school per se but rather a particular trend in political theory popular in literati circles in the Six Dynasties. According to Zürcher's analysis, it "stress[ed] the primary importance of social duties, ritual, law, and characterology (the latter as a means to define the capacities of individuals so as to realize an effective distribution of functions to be 'allotted' 分 to them, and thus to harmonize 'name' *ming* 名 and 'reality' *shih* 實)" (Zürcher 1972:1.86–87).

In opposition to the dark-learning exaltation of nonexistence (*wu* 無) as epitomized by the Wang Pi commentary to the *Tao-te ching*, the doctrine of names "exalted existence" (*ch'ung yu* 崇有).[37] But *ming-chiao* should not be thought of as in competition with dark learning; as Zürcher notes, "In many cases the two trends appear to have been adhered to simultaneously, one serving as a kind of metaphysical

complement to the other.... In the most comprehensive and clear expression of early medieval philosophy, Hsiang Hsiu's (or Kuo Hsiang's) commentary to the *Chuang-tzu*, *ming-chiao* and *hsüan-hsüeh* are completely harmonized and amalgamated."[38] In fact, the notion of one's natural allotment (*fen* 分), which plays a major role in Kuo Hsiang's approach to nonaction (*wu-wei*), may well be derived from *ming-chiao*. In time, however, the term "*ming-chiao*" was used to refer to the teachings of Confucianism in general as opposed to the term "*wu-ming*" 無名, which was used for the thought of Lao-tzu.[39]

There was no formal relationship between the "school of names" and Chou and Han five-phase cosmological systems discussed in Part 1 of this study. As I have argued above, correspondence systems based on the five phases were a characteristic feature of many medieval Chinese religious and philosophical traditions. Nonetheless, the *Treasure Store Treatise* suggests that five-phase cosmological schemes evolved out of *ming-chiao* ideology. I suspect this is intended as a critique of a perceived Confucian penchant for generating contrived categories and unnecessary distinctions, a result of their elevation of the "named" over the "nameless." Nonetheless, five-phase thought played a particularly important role in the meditation and ritual procedures of Taoist and Buddhist practitioners alike.[40]

In this manner sounds are organized according to the five modes, color according to the five colors, the phases according to the five phases, and virtue according to five virtues 爾乃聲立五音、色立五色、行立五行、徳立五徳 . Cf. *Tao-te ching* 12: "The five colors make one's eyes blind; the five notes make the ears deaf; the five tastes injure the palate; riding and hunting make one's mind go wild with excitement; goods hard to come by serve to hinder one's progress" 五色令人目盲、五音令人耳聾、五味令人口爽、馳騁畋獵、令人心發狂、難得之貨、令人行妨 .[41]

Thus, if one errs by so much as a hair's breadth, the transgression is as great as a lofty mountain 差之毫釐過犯山嶐: In other words, a complex and ultimately oppressive social structure grows out of a simple distinction made between people's ranks. The metaphor is found in a variety of early texts, including the "Ching-chieh" 經解 chapter of the *Li chi* 禮記 and the "Shih-chi t'ai-shih-kung tzu-hsü" 史記太史公自序 chapter of the *Shih chi* (fascicle 130: "An error as slight as a hair's breadth [at the start diverts one by] a thousand *li*" 失之毫釐

差以千里; MH 6:824c). See also the *Hsin-hsin ming*, attributed to the legendary third Ch'an patriarch Seng-ts'an: "Err by a hair's breadth, and heaven and earth are set infinitely apart" 毫釐有差天地懸隔.[42]

People don't know when enough is enough 爲人而不知足: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 33: "He who knows contentment is wealthy" 知足者富, as well as the opening lines of the *Ta-hsüeh* 大學: "Know wherein to come to rest, and there will be peace" 知止而后有定.

> 143c7 **Heaven and earth are endless; the cosmos is vast and wide. Within there is smoke and dust, veiling the pure void. Forms loom large; spirit lies within and the numen without. Delusion gives rise to discursive thought, obscuring the True One in darkness. From delusion arises sentience, and truth becomes muddled. In the absence of [anything to] grasp, there is yet grasping; in the absence of [anything to] attain, there is yet attaining. Therefore, the principle is inexhaustible, and things are without limit.**

True One (*chen-i* 眞一): The True One is a central term in chapter 3 of the text, occurring twenty-four times. While uncommon in Buddhist materials, the compound is found in the *Chao lun* as an epithet for absolute truth: "*Prajñā*, empty and mysterious, is the essential and ultimate teaching of the three vehicles. It is the True One, without distinctions, yet contentious debates have raged for ages."[43] In chapter 3 of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, the True One is described as follows:

> We speak of oneness in contradistinction to difference. But since difference is [itself] not different [from difference], oneness is also not one. That which is neither one nor not one is contingently called the True One.
>
> The True One is not something that can be explained in words. Therefore, the One is not perceived by the One, for if it could be perceived, there would be two, and it would not be called the True One. Nor can we speak of knowing the One, for if the One knew the One, then it would be called "two" rather than One. If there were something known, then there would be something not known, and knowing and not knowing would make two. (148c18–23)

The *Treasure Store Treatise* is likely trying to claim the term from the Taoists: the True One is ubiquitous in T'ang Taoist scriptures as a synonym for the Tao and is related to the terms "Great Unity" (*t'ai-i* 太一) and "guard the One" (*shou-i* 守一), about which more will be said below. Most significant, the True One is found in the title of the *T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao-ching* 太玄眞一本際妙經 (commonly

known as the *Pen-chi ching*), a work associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism (see Chapter 1 of this study). The "Mind of the Tao" chapter (*tao-hsin p'in* 道心品) of the *Pen-chi ching* identifies the "True One" with the "Tao-nature" (*tao-hsing* 道性), a Twofold Mystery analogue of buddha-nature.[44]

There are also striking similarities between the use of "True One" in the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the descriptions of the same term found in the *San-lun yüan-chih* 三論元旨, a short Taoist scripture of unknown authorship that, like the *Treasure Store Treatise*, probably dates to the latter half of the eighth century.[45] The *San-lun yüan-chih* description of the "True One" reads like a capsule summary of the *Treasure Store Treatise* description cited above: "The one that is not one—it is called the True One" 不一之一謂之眞一也 (Kamata 1963b:261).

In the absence of [anything to] grasp, there is yet grasping; in the absence of [anything to] attain, there is yet attaining 非取而取、非得而得: This rhetorical structure can be traced back to Mahāyāna logical formulations such as those found in *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. The passage recalls, for example, the exchange between Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*: "You come without any mark of coming, you see without any mark of seeing" 不來相而來、不見相而見.[46]

> 143c10 **Movement! Confusion! The three poisons arise from within. Seeing! Hearing! The five passions are stirred from without. As the mind is agitated and the body bustles about, contact with objects moves one to action like the frenzied dance of fire. Therefore, the sages have established the correct teachings and laid out the true course so that those who lack in understanding—both superiors and inferiors—will rely on each other, cultivate nonaction, refrain from excess, and gradually reach suchness. The principle of suchness is identical with the original and true path. It cannot be cultivated, nor should it be the object of longing, for its nature is wholly quiescent and extinct.**

The *Treasure Store Treatise* continues to weave together Taoist cosmogony and Buddhist epistemology. The "three poisons" (*san-tu* 三毒)—greed, hatred, and delusion—wreak havoc within, while each of the senses, in contact with the external world, engenders one of the corresponding "five passions" (*wu-yü* 五欲).[47] The sages (*sheng* 聖), a term that here would include the buddhas of the past, attempt to mitigate the effects of blind ignorance by establishing teachings or skillful means.

Suchness (*ju-ju* 如如): Coined as a translation of Sanskrit *tathatā, tathatva,* and so on, realization of suchness is the goal of the Buddhist path. *Ju-ju* is traditionally glossed as a synonym of *fa-hsing* 法性 (Sk. *dharmatā,* dharma-nature), and the author of the text asserts that it is not different from the true path (*chen-kuei* 眞軌), that is, the teachings of the ancient Chinese sages. The term translated as "path" (*kuei* 軌) originally referred to the axle length or the distance between cart wheels and thus to the width of wheel ruts on roads. From this it came to mean "path" or "road," and from that "rule," "law," or "regulation." In the *Chao lun* the term signifies both the path of the ancient kings and monastic rules and regulations.

> 143c15 **As for Truth, it is [a singular expanse] without island or shoal, without friend or peer, without limit or boundary, devoid of place or location, yet it acts as the progenitor of the myriad things. It cannot be seen by the eye nor heard by the ear. It has neither shape nor form, nor is it a ghost, yet it acts as the fundamental gate to the three realms.**
>
> **To correctly [grasp Truth] one must first part from form, then empty the emotions, become independent of things, and cease clinging to life. Then one can merge with the Great Way and penetrate the light of the spirit. That which functions is called spirit, and that which has form is called the body, while that which is without action is called the Way, and that which has no attributes is called Truth. In response to things there is designation, and in accord with things there is creation. But that which abides eternally and exists eternally neither is born nor grows old.**

The four pairs of terms—island and shoal, friend and peer, limit and boundary, place and location—are split binomes. This is a case where stylistic considerations may subordinate concern for conceptual precision.

It is without friend or peer 無伴無侶: This phrase can be interpreted as (1) Truth is supreme and without equal, and (2) Truth is singular and solitary. Near the end of this chapter, there is a similar phrase, "solitary and nondual" 獨而無叟 (145b26); and again in chapter 2, "being active it is without peer" 用故無侶 (147a2). The image of the Tao standing alone is an old trope for the utter self-sufficiency and incomparability of the Tao. One of the *Ma-wang-tui* 馬王堆 silk manuscripts, the *Tao-yüan* 道原 (Source of the Way), for example, reads: "[The Tao] stands alone without a mate" 獨立不偶, and the

Lao-tzu ming 老子銘 (Lao-tzu Inscription) states: "Lao-tzu is a pair without being double, single but not uneven" 偶而不叟隻而不倚.[48] Also note the phrase "alone and without companion" 獨立而无倫 in the *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* 老子變化經 (Scripture on the Transformations of Lao-tzu).[49] This is part of a description of the primordial Lao-tzu before the transformations that gave rise to the multifarious world. Again, on line 24 of the same text, there is "a pair, and yet not double" 偶而不叟.

It cannot be seen by the eye nor heard by the ear 非目視、非耳聞: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 14: "Looking at it, it goes unseen; it is called evanescent. Listening to it, it goes unheard; it is called rarefied" 視之不見、名曰夷。聴之不聞、名曰希.[50]

The three realms 三界: The three realms (Sk. *dhātu*) of *saṃsāra*, namely, the realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*), the realm of form (*rūpadhātu*), and the realm of nonform (*arūpadhātu*). The "fundamental gate" (*ken-men* 根門) is a Buddhist technical term for the six sense organs, but the context here demands a more generalized rendering wherein *ken* retains its classical sense of "root," "base," or "foundation." "Truth" (*chen* 眞) is the source of all things as well as the gateway to sense consciousness.

To correctly [grasp Truth] one must first part from form, then empty the emotions, become independent of things, and cease clinging to life 其正者、先離形、次泯情、不依物、不拘生. Cf. *Chuang-tzu*, chapter 5, in which Yen Hui explains to Confucius the meaning of "sitting and forgetting" (*tso-wang* 坐忘): "I smash up my limbs and body, drive out perception and intellect, cast off form, do away with understanding 離形去知 , and make myself identical with the Great Thoroughfare."[51]

Light of the spirit (*shen-ming* 神明): The term "*shen-ming*" occurs with some frequency in the *Chuang-tzu* but without any obvious technical meaning. The term became important in later Taoist *nei-kuan* 內觀 (inner discernment) practices, exercises that were aimed at discerning the interior of the body and cultivating inner radiance, known as *shen-ming*, or the "light of the spirit." Through inner visualization and illumination one could come into contact and nourish the spirits residing within.[52] The *Nei-kuan ching* 內觀經, an anonymous T'ang Taoist scripture, explains it as follows:

> The Tao can be grasped by the mind, and the mind is illuminated by the Tao. When the mind is illuminated, the Tao descends; when the Tao descends, the mind penetrates. The light of the spirit abiding in the body is like the flame of a lamp: light arises from the flame, and the flame emerges from the wick. The wick needs oil, and the oil and wick rest in the lamp itself. How could there be light without these four things [i.e., flame, wick, oil, and lamp]?
>
> In the same way light depends on the luminosity of spirit, spirit abides in the mind, mind exists only within physical form, and physical form is only complete through the Tao. Should any one of these things be missing, on what would the light depend? Therefore we speak of the light of the spirit.
>
> The eyes see, the ears hear, the intellect knows, the mind is aware, and we distinguish between things and principle—indeed, all knowing of even the most subtle kind—all these things emerge from the spirit by virtue of this light. Thus we speak of the light of the spirit.[53]

The notion of the light of the spirit is analogous to the Mahāyāna understanding of consciousness or mind as fundamentally identical with buddha-nature. According to this reading, the "true mind" is the enlivening force within all sentient beings, which is both the object and ultimately the subject of Buddhist discernment practices.

The segment above ends with a stereotypical description of the final state of immortality, the culmination of the Taoist mystical path in which the adept has become one with the flow of things, transcending both old age and death.

> 143c21 **Principle merges with the ten thousand virtues, and phenomena emerge from the thousand arts. Although phenomena are inexhaustible, the Single Way ultimately lies in principle. There is nothing to be realized, nothing to be attained, and yet if there is no realization or attainment, the mind will be forever confused. This mind is false and brings confusion and turmoil to others. Nebulous and indistinct, it is like a shadowy phantom with only a semblance of intelligence.**

The Buddhist use of the opposition between principle (*li* 理) and phenomena (*shih* 事) can be traced to Six Dynasties *hsüan-hsüeh* metaphysics, although the terms are much older. In time, the "principle-phenomena" terminology became the common property of many Chinese exegetical traditions, most notably Sung Neo-Confucianism.[54] The terms played a major role in Chinese Buddhist exegesis, in large part owing to the influence of Seng-chao. The *li-shih* opposition is found, however, in the work of even earlier writers, including Hsi Ch'ao 郗超 (336–377) and Chih Tun (314–366).[55]

Robert Gimello has argued that the principle-phenomena dialectic, insofar as it sublated the opposition between form (*se*) and emptiness (*k'ung*) in the writings of the early Hua-yen patriarchs, represented an important step in the Chinese appropriation of Buddhist philosophy (1976:10–16, 478–481). The *Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men* 華嚴法界觀門 (T.1883) attributed to Tu Shun 杜順, for example, transcends the opposition between form and emptiness by subsuming both within "principle," which is then opposed to "phenomena." In so doing, "the vision of the dharma-element … becomes more ample and diverse. It is no longer so quickly exhausted by the meager categories of identity and non-identity but now may be explored at length with the aid of more affirmatively suggestive categories like interfusion, pervasion, coexistence, sublation, concealment, *et cetera*" (Gimello 1976:481).

There is no need to rehearse the considerable secondary literature on the topic of principle and phenomena. Suffice it to say that in Chinese Buddhist discourse "principle" is generally used to denote the standpoint of the universal, all-encompassing, unchanging, underlying pattern or structure, while "phenomena" refers to the manifest, the contingent, and the transitory.

Nebulous and indistinct, it is like a shadowy phantom with only a semblance of intelligence 恍然惚然、如有魍魎、似有思想: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 21: "As a thing the way is shadowy, indistinct. Indistinct and shadowy, yet within it is an image; shadowy and indistinct, yet within it is a substance" 道之爲物惟恍惟惚。惚兮恍兮、其中有象、恍兮惚兮、其中有物 (trans. Lau 1963:78).

The shadowy phantom, or *wang-liang* 魍魎, can refer to a kind of noxious spirit or monster that dwells in forests and crags lying in wait for human victims. Also written 罔魎, the *wang-liang* appear in the *Tso-chuan* as a species of malevolent spirits found in rivers, marshes, hills, and forests.[56] Other early sources depict the *wang-liang* as a tree and rock sprite that feeds on people.[57] It is said to resemble a three-year-old child, with red and black skin, red eyes, long ears, and beautiful hair, and to be capable of mimicking the sound of people in order to deceive them, although descriptions vary a good deal.

In the *Chuang-tzu* a figure called "*wang-liang*" 罔兩, sometimes translated as "penumbra," appears in dialogue with another nebulous creature called "shadow" (*ying* 影, 7/2/92 and 76/27/21). In the *Treasure Store Treatise*, *wang-liang*, following its figurative use in the *Chuang-tzu*, would seem to allude to one whose existence is tenuous, shadowy, and evanescent.

143c24 **Examine and ponder it; understanding is not [as simple as] pointing to the palm of your hand. Like clouds appearing suddenly in the empty sky or dust appearing on the mirror—"this" and "that" arise only in dependence on conditions; they exist because of our delusion. To be deluded is called ignorance, to be free of delusion is called Truth. Truth is like ice melting into water, and delusion like water freezing into ice. In essence there is no difference between water and ice. To be confused and deluded is called ignorance, and to be awakened to Truth is called wisdom. Just as ice cannot melt in winter and water cannot freeze in spring, so too ignorance cannot be ameliorated instantly, nor can wisdom be attained instantly.**[58] **Release comes gradually, as one slowly melts and dissolves into the great sea. This can be called the natural way. Its activity is the mystery of mysteries; it cannot be fathomed by thought. And while it may be subtle, it can never be exhausted.**

Understanding is not [as simple as] pointing to the palm of your hand (*liao wu chih chang* 了無指掌): This is an idiom drawn from the *Analects* (*Lun-yü* 論語) 3.11: "Someone asked about the theory of the *ti* sacrifice. The Master said, 'It is not something I understand, for whoever understands it will be able to manage the Empire as easily as if he had it here,' pointing to his palm" 指其掌 (trans. Lau 1979:68). "Pointing to one's palm" came to mean "easily understood."

Truth is like ice melting into water, and delusion like water freezing into ice 眞氷釋水、妄水結氷: The metaphor plays on the opposition of *shih* 釋, rendered here as "to melt," and *chieh* 結, "to freeze." But *shih* is more literally "to release," "loosen," or "explain," and *chieh* is "to bind," "congeal," or "knot." Thus the two verbs bring out the opposition between truth and ignorance by comparing them to water (which flows freely, resisting nothing) and ice (which is hard, cold, and resistant).

One might interpret the above passage as expressing the so-called gradualist tendencies associated with Northern Ch'an. The text likens the growth of understanding to the gradual melting of ice, a process that occurs naturally in the appropriate season. But it would be a mistake to apply the notoriously polemical "gradual-sudden" terminology to the *Treasure Store Treatise.* The emphasis here is on the essential identity of both truth and delusion (water and ice), both of which spring from a single source.

Its activity is the mystery of mysteries; it cannot be fathomed by thought 運用玄玄、非念慮所測: The "mystery of mysteries" (*hsüan*

hsüan 玄玄), which occurs again below (145b24–25), alludes to *Tao-te ching* 1 and is discussed in detail in Chapter 1 of this study.

And while it may be subtle, it can never be exhausted 當可以綿綿、不可以勤勤: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 6: "So subtle it only seems to exist, yet it is never exhausted through use" 綿綿若存、用之不勤.

> 144a2 **In advancing along the Way, one comes across a myriad stray paths. A fish in distress will pause in a small puddle. A sick bird will rest on a reed. These two know not of the great sea nor of the dense forests. People hastening about their petty tasks are just the same. This could be called stopping midway through a long task. Without ever reaching the principle of suchness, they throw out what is great and pursue what is small. Halfway along the road they stop and rest, mistaking this small respite for the peace they seek. They do not reach the peace that is the Great Peace. Its greatness is vast and boundless; it is the single substance of all sentient life, equally embracing the myriad things. It responds, giving rise to a thousand transformations; it changes, producing a multitude of manifestations. It neither comes forth nor passes away, yet it functions without pause. There is mind but no form, functioning but no human agency. It manifests as birth, yet there is no birth; it manifests as a body, yet there is no body. Always reckoning but never reckoned, always perceiving but never perceived, there is action without intention, and attainment without anything attained.**

The reference to the sick bird recalls the story in the opening chapter of the *Chuang-tzu* of the cicada and the little dove who are incredulous of the flight of the P'eng bird.[59] The passage above also recalls the *Tao-te ching* 53: "The great Way is quite level, but people prefer the back trails" 大道甚夷、而人好徑.

It is the single substance of all sentient life, equally embracing the myriad things 含識一體、萬物同懷: Cf. *Chuang-tzu* 2: "Heaven and earth were born at the same time I was, and the ten thousand things are one with me" 天地與我並生而萬物與我爲一.[60]

> 144a10 **The images in a mirror have a thousand facets, and the substance of water [reflects] a myriad colors. These sundered reflections are the objective world, wherein the workings of [sympathetic] resonance are without limit.**
>
> **Devoid of form there is yet form; devoid of name there is yet name. Things of like kind affect one another; harmoniously they come together and give birth. There is birth, and yet there is no birth, as it is without feeling. Some call it holy, some call it brilliant; there are many**

> **ways to refer to it, as each employs its own name. But in reality its essential principle is nonaction, and its appearance is the absence of attributes. It is as uniform, pure, and empty as space itself, and ultimately without loci, yet functions abide within it.**
>
> **Its attainment is singular, and its realization is secret, yet once attained it is no longer singular, and once realized it is no longer secret. Thus it is not the case that it is not singular and not the case that it is not secret.**
>
> **Its essence is the transcendence of *yin*; its function is the subtlety of *yang*. Words do not exhaust the principle, nor does activity exhaust the principles of conduct. This can be called Grand Subtlety.**

The images in a mirror have a thousand facets, and the substance of water [reflects] a myriad colors 鏡象千端、水質萬色: The material substance of the mirror or the water is one and the same throughout, and yet they reflect a myriad different forms and colors. More will be said below concerning the symbolism associated with Chinese talismanic mirrors.[61]

The workings of [sympathetic] resonance are without limit 應用無極: This refers to the multifarious activity resulting from the propensity of things to resonate or respond to things of like kind (see also the final section of this chapter). In Buddhist contexts, the compound *ying-yung* is applied to the activity of a buddha through which he responds to the needs of living beings, manifesting in the appropriate form at the appropriate time and place.[62]

Things of like kind affect one another; harmoniously they come together and give birth 物類相感、和合而生: This statement of the principle "like attracts like" generalizes a zoological fact into a metaphysical principle. Animals respond to the calls of others of the same species, and their coming together gives rise to conception and birth. But the principle is immediately subject to a Buddhist qualification: there is birth, and yet there is no "independently existent being" who is born.

It is as uniform, pure, and empty as space itself 等清虛同太空: The term translated here as "space," *t'ai-k'ung* 太空, is a cosmographic name (Schafer translates it as Grand Hollow), referring to the vast reach of space that separates humankind from the palaces of the stars in the dipper (Schafer 1981:394 n. 67).

Its essence is the transcendence of *yin*; its function is the subtlety of *yang* 其體陰離、其用陽微: This is the first occurrence in the text of the opposition between *li* and *wei*, which is the focus of a long discussion at the beginning of the following chapter. The *Treasure Store Treatise* is considered by the later East Asian Buddhist tradition to be the source of the *li-wei* polarity. Although the terminology undoubtedly owes its currency to the *Treasure Store Treatise*, the *li-wei* opposition may well have originated in an earlier work, now lost. I devote my introduction to the following chapter to a full analysis of these terms and their genealogy.

Words do not exhaust the principle, nor does activity exhaust the principles of conduct 言不盡理、行不盡儀: This parallels a passage from the *Hsi tz'u* 繫辭 chapter of the *I ching* 易經: "The master said, writing does not exhaust words, and words do not exhaust the meaning" 書不盡言、言不盡意 (Honda 1978:2.300). The term translated "principles of conduct" (*i* 儀) has a technical sense in the *I ching*, where it refers to the *yin* and *yang* lines. These two primary forces generate the four schemata (*hsiang* 象), which in turn generate the eight trigrams.[63] The more common meaning in Buddhist texts is "ritual form" or "correct deportment." Common to both is the notion of a paradigm, archetype, or model that structures movement and activity.

Grand Subtlety (*t'ai-wei* 太微): *T'ai-wei*, sometimes translated "Grand Tenuity," is the name of a constellation as well as the name of the celestial palace or heaven (*t'ai-wei kung* 太微宮) located therein.[64] The "Palace of Grand Subtlety" is the southern palace of the Thearch, as opposed to the northern palace of "Purple Subtlety" (*tzu-wei* 紫微), a term that will appear below (145b25). The T'ai-wei palace "was the sovereign's southern palace, in the antipodes of the northern one—not factually but symbolically, since it was located on the ecliptic in Virgo and Leo, with the center of its great encompassing wall exactly at the autumnal equinox. This duplicate of the polar palace fell within the equatorial domain of the Red Bird of the south, and its long walls radiated their power among the generals and ministers of China" (Schafer 1977:52).

The presence of such astronomical motifs in the *Treasure Store Treatise* (see also *t'ai-k'ung* above, as well as *t'ai-i* below, 144c16, 145a27–28) is probably no more than testimony to the currency of such terms

in poetic writing and *belles-lettres* of the T'ang, where they are used as metaphors for the night sky, the heavens, the mysterious cosmos, and the transcendent and occult higher realms—the spheres in which the Perfected Ones roam.

> 144a18 **The mountain grasses are without end, and spring water is inexhaustible. The breeze of the valley never rests, and the sound of the gong never ceases. If things of the world are like this, how much more so is the Way. With necessity there is haste and loss; but when there is no necessity, there is ample time. Although heaven and earth may change, space itself is eternal.**
>
> **As for those who study the Way, their practice is without excess, but the practice of those who do not study the Way is excessive. When there is no excess, the Way is near, but when there is excess, the Way is distant.**

As for those who study the Way, their practice is without excess, but the practice of those who do not study the Way is excessive 夫學道者習無餘、不學道者習有餘: This indirectly recalls a number of classical texts, including *Analects* 1: "To study something and regularly practice it: is it not a pleasure?" 學而時習之、不亦説乎; *Tao-te ching* 20: "The masses have excess, only I seem to be wanting" 衆人皆有餘、而我獨若遺; *Tao-te ching* 48: "The pursuit of learning results in daily increase; hearing the way leads to daily decrease. Decrease and again decrease, until you reach nonaction. Through nonaction, no action is left undone" 爲學日益爲道日損。損之又損以至于無爲。無爲而無不爲 (trans. Mair 1990:16); and so on. The terms "*wu-yü*" 無餘 (without excess) and "*yu-yü*" 有餘 (excessive) are found in a variety of early texts; *wu-yü* typically denotes teachings that emphasize what is essential, while *yu-yü* refers to teachings extraneous to the central or orthodox doctrine. In a Taoist context the passage might then be read: "The practice of one who studies the Way has nothing extraneous to it, while one who does not study the Way practices nonessentials."

However, the terms "*yu-yü*" and "*wu-yü*" also recall the technical Buddhist terms "nirvāṇa with remainder" (Sk. *sopadhieśeṣa-nirvāṇa*) and "nirvāṇa without remainder" (Sk. *nirupadhieśeṣa-nirvāṇa*), respectively.[65] Nirvāṇa with remainder refers to the initial enlightenment of a buddha or *arhat*, following which he continues to abide in the world; nirvāṇa without remainder is the physical death of an enlightened being, bringing a final end to the cycle of rebirth. These terms are the focus of an extended discussion at the beginning of the *Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun* (Nirvāṇa Is Nameless), in which Seng-chao

subjects the distinction to a Mādhyamika-style deconstruction.[66] According to Seng-chao, from the perspective of ultimate truth, nirvāṇa is not a "something" that could be described as either with or without remainder or residue.[67]

> 144a22 **Know existence and there will be ruin, but know nonexistence and there will be no defeat. But the knowing that is true knowing does not reckon between the two. Do not impute existence to existence or nonexistence to nonexistence. Neither existence nor nonexistence is perceived; their essential nature is thusness. Barren and empty, yet activity issues forth. When such is not the case, there is much confusion, much loss, and through it all capricious speculation.**
>
> **To emphasize practice [only leads to a] host of afflictions. Misfortune is confused with fortune, and fortune is confused with misfortune. The affairs of fortune and misfortune are but a diversion, a barrier to the True One. Therefore, one devoted to the Way must not be misled like this.**

Know existence and there will be ruin, but know nonexistence and there will be no defeat. But the knowing that is true knowing does not reckon between the two 知有有壞、知無無敗。眞知之知、有無不計: This passage is quoted (with a minor change) by Tsung-mi in his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*.[68]

> 144a27 **Those who study the Way can be divided into three: the first are called true, the second are called approaching, and the third are called auditors. To cultivate study is called auditing, to break off from study is called approaching, and to go beyond these two is called truth. Of those who do not study the Way, there are also three: the highest are called auspicious, the next are called excellent, and the lowest are called inauspicious. The pinnacle of pleasure is called excellent, while the pinnacle of pain is called misfortune. To experience neither pleasure nor pain is called auspicious. Even so, none of these three penetrate the true constant, and thus they do not accord with the Way.**

Those who study the Way can be divided into three: the first are called true, the second are called approaching, and the third are called auditors 夫學道者有三、其一謂之眞、其二謂之隣、其三謂之聞: The "three kinds of study" bring to mind the "three kinds of wisdom," of which there are several enumerations. The most common is known in Chinese as the *san-hui* 三慧 (Sk. *trividhāprajñā*), a relatively early formulation consisting of (1) knowledge from hearing [the dharma] (*wen-*

hui 聞慧, Sk. *śrutamayīprajñā*), (2) knowledge from reflection [upon the dharma] (*ssu-hui* 思慧, Sk. *cintāmayīprajñā*), and (3) knowledge gained through practice (*hsiu-hui* 修慧, Sk. *bhāvanāmayīprajñā*).[69] There are also various Mahāyānist versions of the three wisdoms, commonly known under the rubric of the *san-chih* 三智, but none seems particularly relevant to the passage at hand.[70] It is possible that the *wen*, or "auditing," mentioned above is derived from the *wen-hui* of *śrutamayīprajñā*, but to my knowledge the two remaining categories have no clear antecedents.

This enumeration of three kinds of study may well have been an innovation on the part of the author of this text; at least it was considered as such by the later Ch'an tradition. The passage appears at the beginning of case 44 of the *Pi-yen lu*, where it is quoted by Ho-shan Wu-yin 禾山無殷 (891–960).[71] Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in's 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135) commentary to the case includes the following:

> Ho-shan imparted a teaching, saying: "To cultivate study is called auditing, to break off from study is called approaching, and to go beyond these two is truly to go beyond." The words of this case come from the *Treasure Store Treatise*. When study arrives at [the place of] no-study, this is called "breaking off study." Thus it is said: "Shallow listening, deep understanding; deep listening, no understanding." This is called "breaking off study." [Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh 永嘉玄覺, 665–713], who mastered [the Way] in a single night, said: "Since my youth I have accumulated learning, examined the commentaries, and investigated the scriptures and treatises. [One who has] exhausted the cultivation of such study is called a 'free man of the Way, who has broken off study and is without purpose.' When he has arrived at the point of breaking off study, then, for the first time, he is close to the Way. When he manages to go beyond these two [stages of] study, this is called 'truly going beyond.' "[72]

Auspicious (*hsiang* 祥), **excellent** (*liang* 良), and **inauspicious** (*yang* 殃): The choice of terminology seems determined by euphonic and stylistic considerations: the three terms were rhymes in Late Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank 1991:338, 192, and 359) as well as diviner's terms commonly seen on Han mirrors.

Even so, none of these three penetrate the true constant, and thus they do not accord with the Way 然此三者、皆不入眞常、斯爲不道: The passage alludes to *Tao-te ching* 55:

> To know harmony is called the constant;
> To know the constant is called discernment.

> To try to add to one's vitality is called ill-omened;
> For the mind to egg on the breath is called violent.
> A creature in its prime doing harm to the old
> Is known as going against the way.
> That which goes against the way will come to an early end.
> 知和曰常、知常曰明。益生曰祥、心使氣曰強。物壯則老謂之不道。不道早已. (trans. Lau 1963:116)

The term "true constant," also found in the apocryphal *Śūraṃgama-sūtra* (*Shou-leng-yen ching*),[73] came to be used in later Ch'an materials to denote the constancy of suchness itself.

144b3 **The ascending spirit rises like a torrent; the windblown sea surges and swells. The impurities of the mind are stirred and unsettled. Such sorrow and lamenting! Beings revolve through the rounds of rebirth in the triple realm, arising and passing away through cycles of life and death, coming and going through the six paths without recourse to the Way for rescue or to the Truth for guidance. The sages of the [various] vehicles all regard them with sympathy, as a mother thinks upon her own children. They refrain from teaching when the time is not ripe but wait patiently for the right opportunity. This is the manner of the Great Way, for the principles of conduct are unchanging from the past to the present. One cannot rush or force things along.**

In spirit lies wisdom and in wisdom lies compassion. Yet should one seek for the object of compassion, it cannot be found; it leads only to suffering and exhaustion. Thus despite reference to beings capable of being saved, the actual situation is like this. Vigilant and diligent efforts inevitably give rise to capricious speculation. In fretfully seeking outside, one strays from and loses the path of mystery, and the immaculate void is tainted with emotion. Alas, such grief and pain. There is no relief from trouble and toil!

The six realms of rebirth (*liu-tao* 六道, Sk. *gati*): These are the realms of *saṃsāra*, namely, the realms of hell, hungry ghosts (Sk. *preta*), animals, warrior titans (Sk. *asura*), humans, and gods.

Vigilant and diligent efforts (*ch'a-ch'a ching-ch'in* 察察精勤): Cf. the *Tao-te ching*, where *ch'a-ch'a* occurs twice in opposition to *men-men* 悶悶, "muddled": "Vulgar people are alert, I alone am muddled" 俗人察察、我獨悶悶;[74] and "When the government is muddled the people are simple. When the government is alert the people are cunning" 其政悶悶、其民淳淳、其政察察、其民缺缺.[75] The present use of *ch'a-ch'a* preserves these negative overtones.

144b11 **When the sun is hidden behind clouds, although it remains bright, it does not shine down. When wisdom lies concealed in delusion, although it remains true, the Way goes untrodden. Why should this be so? It is because [wisdom] has yet to emerge from its bonds. Therefore, one cannot unite with what is distant, nor can one be freed from what is near-at-hand. One who has yet to attain the Way must not act recklessly.**

One who is determined to return is not concerned with what lies behind, and one who is determined to do battle is not concerned with his own neck. One who is determined to study does not value his own body, and one who is determined to tread the Way does not value worldly affairs. He enters leaving no tracks; he emerges without striving. Utterly free of anything to be attained, his outer involvements are naturally quiescent. Being quiescent and unborn, he is nameless. The nameless unwrought substance is at its core free of outward cravings and naturally replete with meritorious virtues as plentiful as the sands of the Ganges.

Nameless unwrought substance (*wu-ming chih p'u* 無名之朴; see also 146a22–23, 148b29): The term "*p'u*," which literally means an unhewn or uncarved block of wood, is used repeatedly in both the *Chuang-tzu* and the *Tao-te ching* to refer to the natural state of things before they were shaped by human artifice. The phrase "*wu-ming chih p'u*" is taken from the *Tao-te ching* 37: "The Way never acts yet nothing is left undone. Should lords and princes be able to hold fast to it, the myriad creatures will be transformed of their own accord. After they are transformed, should desire raise its head, I shall press it down with the weight of the nameless uncarved block. The nameless uncarved block is but freedom from desire, and if I cease to desire and remain still, the empire will be at peace of its own accord."[76]

144b18 **One who dwells in a shell knows not the enormity of the cosmos. One who dwells in forms knows not the vastness of the void. Therefore, in darkness there is no light and in light no darkness.**

All dharmas are but successive moments of thought without interdependence. Things are cut off from each other and feelings estranged, and, once ruptured, feelings are difficult to bring back into accord.

One who dwells in a shell (*k'o-chü-che* 殼居者): By the T'ang a *k'o* (husk, skin, or shell) was used as a metaphor for the defiled body of human birth, and the phrase *k'o lou tzu* 殼漏子, or "oozing husk," would emerge as a popular metaphor for the physical body in Ch'an materials.

All dharmas are but successive moments of thought without interdependence 諸法念念、各不相待: *Nien-nien* 念念 is a Chinese equivalent for Sanskrit *cittakṣaṇa*, an instant of thought. In technical contexts *hsiang-tai* 相待 can mean "interdependence," but it also has a more common usage meaning "opposition" or "mutual tension" (see below, 145a21).[77] The current passage is apparently derived from the Kumārajīva translation of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: "All dharmas arise and pass away without abiding, like an illusion or a flash of lightning. All dharmas are without interdependence and do not abide for even the duration of a single thought" 一切法生滅不住、如幻如電。諸法不相待、乃至一念不住.[78]

The *Ma-tsu yü-lu* 馬祖語録, similarly drawing from the *Vimalakīrti*, contains a passage very close to the one at hand:

> Therefore the [*Vimalakīrti-*] *sūtra* says: "This body is not but the aggregate of many dharmas. When it arises it is only dharmas arising, when it passes it is only dharmas passing. When these dharmas arise they do not say 'I am arising,' and when they cease they do not say 'I am ceasing.'"[79] The former thought, the later thought, and the present thought—each successive instant of thought is without interdependence; each successive instant of thought is quiescent and extinguished 前念後念中念、念念不相待、念念寂滅.[80]

It is unlikely that the *Treasure Store Treatise* served as Ma-tsu's inspiration, although both works may well have been drawing from common sources. Ma-tsu's rendition remains closer to an "orthodox" Buddhist reading of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* passage. It begins with a familiar analysis of *anātman*, in which all aggregate phenomena are analyzed in terms of their indivisible constituent parts. This analysis leads to the level of individual dharmas, wherein the notion of a "self" no longer pertains. Furthermore, such dharmas, conceived of as actual ontic happenings, must be without temporal duration, since if they endured, they would be further divisible into subtler, even more transient dharmas. But it is impossible for dharmas so conceived to effect the arising of subsequent dharmas, since any bearer of residual "force" that survives the extinction of a dharma would itself have to comprise one or more transitory dharmas. Dharmas are thus paradoxically (and impossibly) both interdependent and independent entities and are therefore said to be illusory or empty.

As is typical of Ch'an reformulations of Mādhyamika rhetoric, Matsu renders the argument in less abstract terms, referring to instants

of cognition rather than to dharmas. This shift is facilitated by the polyvalence of the terms "*nien*" and "*nien-nien*": in Buddhist discourse they can refer to both (1) a single thought and the succession of such thoughts and (2) an infinitesimally small unit of time and the succession of such units. The *Treasure Store Treatise* version of this pericope is less lucid than that of Ma-tsu but does concur that dharmas, being temporally discrete and independent entities, cannot logically exist in a dependent relationship one to the other.

144b21 **When red dates become worm-ridden, they may look robust on the surface, but they are rotten within. When sand and water flow along together, the surface may appear clear, but the bottom is murky. When the kingdom harbors evil [officials], the world is not well governed. When the body harbors the mind, the myriad things are defiled. This is so because of the [indwelling] illness.**

Therefore, insofar as things are possessed of numen, the numen must harbor the demonic, the demonic must harbor desire, desire must harbor mind, and mind must harbor feelings. The movement of feeling is desire, and the demonic issues forth as the specter. The specter confounds the spirit, as desire confounds the Truth. Therefore, these are things from which people of the Way must keep their distance.

The mirrors of old illumine the specters, and the specters assume their own [true] forms. The teachings of old illuminate the mind, and the mind becomes luminous.

The demonic (*yao* 妖): This term is commonly found in divination texts, referring to such calamities as premature death. As an agent or force, it is the negative counterpart of the *ling*, or numen. Cf. *Tao-te ching* 58: "When there is no correctness, the correct reverts to the crafty, and the good reverts to the demonic" 其無正也、正復爲奇、善復爲妖.

Specter (*ching* 精): While *ching* has a multitude of meanings ("essence," "embryo," "seminal force," "potency," and so on), in the immediate context it refers to the petty ghosts or specters that populate the Chinese spirit realm (cf. the reference below to the "specters of trees and rocks" 木石之精, 147b3). This passage connects elements of Buddhist psychology, such as "mind" (*hsin*), "desire" (*yü*), and "feeling" (*ch'ing*), with the fauna of Chinese cosmology, including the *ling*, *yao*, and *ching*.

The mirrors of old illumine the specters, and the specters assume their own [true] form 古鏡照精、其精自形: The "mirrors of old" are the bronze talismanic mirrors that could reflect the true form of otherwise invisible or disguised spirits, ghosts, specters, and even gods. According to the *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子: "The spirits in old objects are capable of assuming human shape for the purpose of confusing human vision and constantly putting human beings to a test. It is only when reflected in a mirror that they are unable to alter their true forms."[81] In his *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, Chih-i (538–597) refers to the use of mirrors to expose and protect against lurking demons (*mei* 媚),[82] and he refers specifically to "ancient mirrors" (*ku-ching* 古鏡) in his description of the *Fang-teng san-mei* 方等三昧. The preparations for the rite include placing such a mirror on the altar "to protect the sanctuary from evil influences."[83]

By the T'ang, sacred mirrors had a long history of use in Taoist divination and ritual. Inscribed mirrors were treasured as powerful talismans, used to make contact with various immortals and divinities including Lao-chün 老君 himself.[84] Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's *Shang-ch'ing han-hsiang chien-chien t'u* 上清含象劍鑑圖, an illustrated description of liturgical swords and mirrors dedicated to the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung, waxes eloquent on the wondrous properties of such mirrors.[85] The short text that accompanies the illustrations construes the sacred mirrors (and swords) as microcosms—the design of the mirror reproduces the many nested layers of the traditional Han universe.[86] For Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, the inscribed mirror is more than a mere ritual or symbolic implement for use in divination procedures; it is a gateway to the occult mysteries:

> The marvel of mirrors is that the enduring substance is concentrated within, transparent and still. The clear radiance blazons without; gaze into it and you will penetrate. It responds without concealing, and the mind of the Perfected is increasingly revealed [therein]. Illuminate and examine the reflected image—the *forms of the spectral transformations are restored there.* This is called "possessing the Way of constant illumination and possessing the truth of the spirit and numen." Of all the treasures that people esteem and enjoy, none surpasses this instrument. It allows one both to see oneself and to scrutinize outer things.[87]

The *Treasure Store Treatise* seems to be saying that just as the mirrors of old do not produce specters or spirits but merely reveal their true forms, the teachings of old do not impart the true mind but merely reveal its natural luminosity.

The teachings of old illuminate the mind 古教照心: This four-character phrase appears frequently in later Ch'an and Zen materials, including the *Tzu-men ching-hsün* 緇門警訓, compiled in 1474,[88] the *Jūundō shiki* 重雲堂式 chapter of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏,[89] and Tōrei Enji's 東嶺圓慈 (1721–1792) epilogue to the *Ch'ung-k'o ch'an-kuan ts'e-chin* 重刻禪關策進 written in 1762.[90] The aphorism may well owe its currency to the *Treasure Store Treatise*; note that the passage in which it is embedded—"The mirrors of old illumine the specters, and the specters assume their own [true] form. The teachings of old illuminate the mind, and the mind becomes luminous"—is itself cited in a number of Ch'an works, including the *Tsung-ching lu* (where it is attributed to the *Treasure Store Treatise*)[91] and the *Yün-feng wen-yüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* 雲峰文悦禪師語録 (where it goes unattributed).[92]

144b27 **Above and below exist in relation to heaven and earth, east and west exist in relation to the sun and the moon, this and that exist in relation to one's body, and true and false exist in relation to one's mind. Without this and that, how could there be true and false? Thus things change in accordance with one's perceptions, and perceptions are altered in response to things. Inner and outer agitate each other; consciousness and the objects [of consciousness] ride in tandem. Their birth yields a person, and their death yields a ghost, each resembling the other and succeeding the other. [Like] the bodily forms that appear in dreams, in reality that is not this and this is not that. Like the patterns traced by birds in the empty sky, the displays are rare and wonderful, difficult to conceive and difficult to envisage.**

The *yin* preserves and the *yang* bestows: the dark way is formless. Cause and effect are yoked to one another, their phenomena like magical illusions, assuming a multitude of forms and appearances. Like the shimmering water [seen in the desert] or the [magical] city of the Gandharvas, such appearances are devoid of substance and reality; they merely confound and confuse others. Principle, pure and void, is completely devoid of corporeality.

Ghost (*hun* 魂): Technically the *hun* is the spiritual or ouranic soul(s) that survives one's death to wander the earth or ascend to the celestial realm. The *hun* is opposed to the *p'o* 魄—the vegetative or chthonic soul(s)—that remains in the vicinity of the body or descends into the earth after death. The separation and dispersion of the various souls bring about death, and the focus of Taoist yogic and macrobiotic regimens was to keep these souls together and working in concert. In the present context *hun* refers generically to the form of the individual, the "ghost," that survives the death of the body.[93]

Like the patterns traced by birds in the empty sky 鳥跡空文: This is a common metaphor in Buddhist literature in general and Ch'an literature in particular for the "ungraspability" (Sk. *anupalabdhi*) of things.[94]

The *yin* preserves and the *yang* bestows 陰報陽施: While *yin-pao* can mean "hidden retribution" (MH 11.849a), I prefer to read *pao* 報 as equivalent to *pao* 保 ("preserve," "protect," "nourish"). The term "*yang shih*" 陽施 denotes the *yang*-pneuma (*yang-ch'i* 陽氣), which breathes life into the myriad animated things (MH 11.932c).

The dark way is formless 冥道罔象: *Ming-tao* 冥道 alludes to the realms of the underworld, the dark world of death. The meaning of *wang-hsiang* 罔象 is unclear: this may be an oblique reference to a story found in the *Chuang-tzu* that crops up in a variety of Buddhist materials, including the *Chao lun*.[95] This story concerns *hsiang-wang* 象罔, a fabulous invisible creature who alone is able to recover the Sublime Pearl 玄珠 lost by the Yellow Emperor on his journey north of the Red Water.[96] In later Chinese tradition the term "*wang-hsiang*" denotes a variety of mountain-dwelling nature spirits similar to the *wang-liang*, or "shadowy phantom," that appeared above (143c24; see Kiang 1975:168–216 as well as my commentary to 143c21).

Like the shimmering water [seen in the desert] or the [magical] city of the Gandharvas 焰水乾城: The "shimmering water" (Sk: *mṛgatṛṣṇābhāsa*) and the "city of the Gandharvas" (Sk. *gandharvapura*) are both common Buddhist figures for illusion. In the light of the arguments regarding the dating of the *Treasure Store Treatise* presented in Chapter 1, it is perhaps significant that the abbreviated forms found in the treatise, *yen-shui* 焰水 and *kan-ch'eng* 乾城, are those used by Śikṣānanda in the T'ang translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* but not by the translators of the two earlier versions.[97]

144c6 **There are those with supernatural powers of transformation who ascend to heaven like dragons and those who envelop the cosmos like the gathering of clouds. But such [wonderworking] should not be valued and has nothing to do with truth; to mistake them as real is to go astray from the Way. Some may possess a handsome appearance, and some may be skilled with words. Some may be wise and intelligent, and some may be skilled craftsmen. But it is similarly wrong to take these for the Way. Do not regard such endowments as truth or their**

utility as lasting. If even heaven and earth decay, how could mere vessels endure?

Only the Way is without origin, lucent, and eternally present. Only the Way is without substance, exquisite, and eternally true. Only the Way is devoid of phenomena, yet from ancient times down to the present day, it has always been esteemed. Only the Way is without mind, yet it is the perfect fulfillment of all things. Therefore, the Way is without marks, form, phenomena, intention, or mind, yet it is of great benefit to all classes of beings and fosters human relations. Thus it is said that all things submit to the Way.

There are those with supernatural powers of transformation who ascend to heaven like dragons and those who envelop the cosmos like the gathering of clouds 神通變化者、其猶於龍昇天、覆宇宙者、其猶於雲凝: *Shen-t'ung pien-hua* 神通變化 is used to translate Sanskrit *ṛddhy-abhisaṃskāra* (or *ṛddhi-prātihārya*), referring to the power of a buddha or adept to assume different forms magically. However, the sorts of spiritual accomplishments mentioned here are more commonly associated with Taoist practices. The term "pervasion of the spirit" (*shen-t'ung*) became commonplace in Taoist literature, including "Twofold Mystery" texts,[98] and "ascend to heaven like dragons" is a reference to the characterization of Lao-tzu found in his biography in fascicle 63 of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih chi*. After meeting Lao-tzu, Confucius is reputed to have said: "I know that birds can fly, fish can swim, and animals can run. Whatever runs can be trapped with nets; whatever swims can be caught with fishing lines; whatever flies can be shot with arrows. But as for dragons, I do not know how they ride the wind and clouds and soar in the sky. Today I saw Lao-tzu. Is he not like a dragon?"[99]

In medieval Taoist hagiography, the ability to ascend to heaven, ideally in broad daylight accompanied by one's household, demonstrated one's achievement of the most exalted stage of transcendence and immortality (*hsien* 仙). The image of "covering the cosmos like the gathering of clouds" may allude to the opening passage of the *Chuang-tzu*, in which the wings of the ascending P'eng bird cover the heavens like clouds (1/1/1, 1/1/14).

If even heaven and earth decay, how could mere vessels endure? 乾坤尚壞器物何剛: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 23: "A gusty wind cannot last all morning, and a sudden downpour cannot last all day. Who is it that produces these? Heaven and earth. If even heaven and earth cannot go on forever, much less can man" 飄風不終朝、驟雨不終日。孰爲此者天地。天地尚不能久而況于人乎 (trans. Lau 1963:80).

Without mind (*wu-hsin* 無心): This complex and overdetermined term, which occurs repeatedly below, can be traced to the *Chuang-tzu* (29/12/6) and is central to early attempts to explicate Buddhism through the use of indigenous Chinese terminology. It appears some fifteen times in the *Chao lun*, for example, as well as in a number of Ch'an-related texts composed around the same time as the *Treasure Store Treatise* (see Chapter 1 for a discussion of parallels between one such text, the *Wu-hsin lun*, and the *Treasure Store Treatise*).[100] Typically, Ch'an materials understand *wu-hsin* as a mind free of discrimination—a mind that does not distinguish between subject and object—rather than the mere absence of cognition or consciousness, but Ch'an authors will at times exploit the ambiguity of the term.

Great benefit (*shan-li* 善利): This term is commonly found in sūtras such as the *Vimalakīrti* and the *Lotus* to refer to merits obtained from the possession or recitation of a particular sūtra, from meeting a specific buddha or bodhisattva, and so on.[101]

All things submit to the Way 一切物無不賓: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 32: "The way is forever nameless. Although the uncarved block is small, no one in the world dare claim its allegiance. Should lords and princes be able to hold fast to it, the myriad creatures will submit of their own accord" 萬物將自賓 (trans. Lau 1963:91).

> 144c14 **The myriad things all have their companions; only the Way stands alone. There is no other beyond it and nothing further within. Without inside or outside, it enfolds the Great Unity, envelops the eight seas, and sustains the myriad things.**

The Great Unity (*t'ai-i*): This is both a common epithet for the Tao as well as the name of a specific Taoist divinity (see also below 145a27–28). As a term for the all-encompassing Tao, it may owe its currency to the *Chuang-tzu* ("The Great Unity is empty of form" 太一形虛),[102] although it is found in other pre-Han materials as well, including the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* and the *Hsün-tzu*.[103] Great Unity appears as the name of a specific deity in the *Ch'u tz'u* (Songs of Ch'u), which dedicates the famous "nine songs" to a cluster of gods of which Tung-huang T'ai-i 東皇太一 is chief.[104] By the Han the deity T'ai-i is closely associated with the star Polaris in Ursa Minor, and this association continues throughout the medieval period, when the god T'ien-huang

Ta-ti 天皇大帝 (manifest as Polaris, or *tzu-wei* 紫微) is considered the "secret embryo and quintessence" of the Great Unity.[105]

Cammann has reconstructed the history of the early Han T'ai-i cult in her study of the "magic square" known as the *lo-shu* 洛書.[106] Han Wu-ti engaged in regular sacrifices to T'ai-i starting in 124 B.C., and by 113 B.C. T'ai-i had become the focus of state worship. The Taoist cult of T'ai-i was to flourish again under imperial patronage during the eighth century, around the time the *Treasure Store Treatise* was composed.[107] Finally, T'ai-i is closely associated with the Three Ones or the Three Primordial Pneumas (*san-i* 三一), associated with the Taoist meditation practice known as "guarding the One" (*shou-i* 守一). More will be said in regard to the Three Ones below.

Eight seas (*pa-ming* 八冥): "Eight" refers to the eight directions, while *ming* 冥 is here interchangeable with *ming* 溟, sea; the compound means simply "the world" or "the cosmos."[108]

144c16 As for its state, it is neither inner nor outer, small nor large, unified nor differentiated, bright nor dark. It is not born nor does it pass away, and it is neither coarse nor fine. It is not empty, but neither is it extant. It is not open or closed, superior or inferior, formed or decayed. It neither moves nor is it still; it does not return nor does it depart; and it is neither deep nor shallow, ignorant nor wise, contradictory nor facilitating, pervading nor obstructed. It is not impoverished or opulent, new or ancient, good or bad, hard or soft, singular or relative.

The reason is as follows: if you speak of it as inner, it pervades and embraces the dharma-realm, yet if you speak of it as outer, it provides for all as the bearer of form. Describe it as small and it encompasses that which is most distant, yet describe it as large and it once again enters the realm of the infinitesimal. Call it unified and each [aspect] bears its unique substance, yet call it differentiated and its ethereal essence is devoid of any thing. Call it bright and it is dark and obscure, yet call it dark and it shines brightly with penetrating brilliance. Say it is born and it is without either a physical state or form, yet say it passes away and it is forever numinous. Call it coarse and it pierces a mote of dust,[109] yet call it fine and it looms high as a lofty mountain. Call it empty and a myriad functions lie within, yet call it extant and it is deserted, lacking any appearance. Call it open and it does not admit defilement, yet call it closed and limitless meanings issue forth. Call it superior and it is uniform and without characteristics, yet call it inferior and there is nothing to rival it. Call it formed and it shatters, scattering like the stars, yet call it decayed and it preserves the past while remaining forever present. Say it moves and it remains firmly planted,

> **yet call it still and things are aroused in a flurry of commotion. Say it returns and it departs without a word, yet say it departs and in response to things it comes from afar. Call it deep and it is borne upon the myriad things, yet call it shallow and its roots are beyond reach. Call it ignorant and it follows a myriad paths of its own devising, yet call it wise and it remains quiescent and still without excess. Call it contrary and it is both faithful and dependable, yet call it facilitating and there is nothing that can harness it. Call it pervading and it does not reach the subtle traces, yet call it obstructed and it enters and exits [that which is] empty of form. Call it impoverished and it possesses a myriad virtues and a thousand treasures, yet call it opulent and it is desolate and deserted. Call it new and it bears the karma of its past lives, yet call it ancient and it is tarnished by nothing. Call it good and it protects nothing, yet call it corrupt and things have always relied on it. Call it hard and you may crush it without injury, yet call it soft and it breaks your strength without yielding. Call it singular and its relations are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, yet call it relative and it is the solitary hub of the True One.**

The structure of this passage may be influenced by a line from the *Chao lun*: "Should you say that [dharmas] exist, such existence does not denote actual becoming; but should you say that they are nonexistent, their phenomenal form has already taken shape" 欲言其有、有非眞生、欲言其無、事象既形.[110]

The attempt to express reality through an extended list of negations or antinomies has ample precedent in medieval Taoist literature. See, for example, the description of the spirit (*shen* 神) in the *Nei-kuan ching* of the T'ang period: "Spirit is neither black nor white, neither red nor yellow, neither big nor small, neither short nor long, neither crooked nor straight, neither soft nor hard, neither thick nor thin, neither round nor square.... It greatly encompasses heaven and earth, subtly enters the tiniest blade of grass."[111] And the *Pen-chi ching*, examined above in connection with *ch'ung-hsüan*, employs the same literary device in its description of the "nature of the Tao" (*tao-hsing* 道性):

> The nature of the Tao is the emptiness of true reality. It is neither empty nor not empty, nor is it not not empty. It is neither a dharma, nor is it not a dharma, neither a thing nor not a thing, neither a person nor not a person, neither a cause nor not a cause, neither a result nor not a result, neither a beginning nor not a beginning, and neither an end nor not an end. It is neither a root nor a branch, and yet is the foundation of all dharmas. It neither produces nor creates, and is called nonaction. (Wu Chi-yu 1960:99)

Finally, a similar list of antinomies is found in the "enlightenment verse" contained in the *Wu-hsin lun*[112] as well as in the closing lines of the *Hsin-hsin ming*; see the full discussion of these parallels in Chapter 1.

Bearer of form (*hsing-tsai* 形載): This phrase recalls the "Great Clod" of the *Chuang-tzu* who "burdens me with form 載我以形 , labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death."[113]

Solitary hub (*ku-ku* 孤轂): Cf. *Tao-te ching* 11: "Thirty spokes share a single hub. Adopt the nothing therein to the purpose at hand and you will have the use of the cart" 卅輻共一轂。當其无有遮之用 (trans. Lau 1963:67).

> 145a14 **Thus there is no single word with which to describe the Way and no single understanding by which the principle can be proclaimed. How could any such summary exposition possibly exhaust its breadth? Therefore, cutting off the head and reducing the body to ashes does not injure life, nor does ingesting golden elixirs or jade ambrosia nourish life. Thus that which truly lives is never extinguished, and that which is truly extinguished never lives. This is what is known as eternal life and eternal extinction.**
>
> **Those who crave life and loathe extinction have not awakened to eternal extinction. Those who crave extinction and loathe life have not awakened to eternal life. They do not comprehend these two terms, nor do they apprehend the true unity [of life and extinction]. Their impulse to cling [to one] and reject [the other] follows their deluded proclivities. Therefore, do not impute existence to what is eternally empty, and do not impute emptiness to what is eternally extant. The two are not mutually dependent; both locutions are essential.**
>
> **Therefore, the sage in accord with existence speaks of existence and in accord with emptiness speaks of emptiness. Emptiness is not contrary to existence, nor is existence contrary to emptiness. There is nothing amiss with either locution; the reference of each pervades the other. This is so even when we come to speak of "self," which is also not contrary to "nonself" and "phenomenon," which is also not contrary to "nonphenomenon." Thus transformation does not come about through words and utterances.**

Golden elixirs or jade ambrosia (*chin-tan yü-i* 金丹玉液): This phrase is a somewhat generic reference to Taoist alchemical substances used to prolong life and attain immortality. Such substances are typically divided into two broad categories: (1) internal substances associated

with "inner alchemy" (*nei-tan* 內丹) involving the use of visualization and meditation to manipulate the semen (*ching* 精), the various pneumas (*ch'i* 氣), and so on, and (2) external substances associated with "external alchemy" (*wai-tan* 外丹) such as potable gold, cinnabar, and the like. *Yü-i*, like *chin-tan*, is a generic term for "elixirs of immortality," although it may also, depending on context, denote specific substances such as potable gold, potable jade, and saliva. In the present case the phrase invokes the whole panoply of Taoist alchemical elixirs.[114]

Therefore, do not impute existence to what is eternally empty, and do not impute emptiness to what is eternally extant. The two are not mutually dependent; both locutions are essential 故常空不有、常有不空。兩不相待、句句皆宗: The logic here may follow, albeit obliquely, a passage in the *Chao lun*:

> If existence truly existed, then existence would exist eternally in and of itself; it would not depend on anterior conditions for its existence 待緣而後有. The same is the case with true nonexistence: nonexistence would be eternally nonexistent in and of itself and would not depend on anterior conditions for its nonexistence. If existence is not self-existent but depends upon conditions for its existence, then we know that existence is not truly extant. As existence is not truly extant, although it exists it cannot be called "existence."
>
> As for nonexistence, if nonexistence were utterly transparent and unmoving, it could be called "nonexistence." If the myriad things were nonexistent, then they should not arise, and if they arise, they are not nonexistent. As it is evident that they do arise from conditions, they are not nonexistent.[115]

Thus for existence to be true existence, logically it must not be dependent on nonexistence and visa versa.

> 145a24 **When gold is cast into the shape of a person, one notices only the person, not the gold. This is to be misled with regard to its name and confused with regard to its attributes, all because the truth has been lost. In this way everything is an illusion, a fantasy, unreal. Know illusion as illusion; guard the truth and embrace the One. Then you will not be defiled by external things. The Great Unity—clear and void—how could it be lost?**[116]
>
> **Eradicate the mind and abandon thought, and you will be essentially free from all ill. When not a single attribute arises, both fortune and misfortune will be obviated. When fortune is not sought, what then is misfortune? The matters of fortune and misfortune are both without basis.**

When gold is cast into the shape of a person, one notices only the person, not the gold 鑄金爲人、但觀其人、不覩其金: This analogy recalls the "Essay on the Golden Lion" (*Chin-shih-tzu chang yün-chien lei-chieh* 金師子章雲間類解) attributed to Fa-tsang (643–712). According to tradition, this work records a lecture delivered to Empress Wu in 701 by Fa-tsang in which he used a golden sculpture of a lion to illuminate aspects of Hua-yen philosophy.[117] Fa-tsang's explanation of the fifth mystery in a list of ten begins: "If we look at the lion [as a lion], there is only lion and no gold. This is the disclosure of the lion but the concealment of the gold. If we look at the gold [as gold], there is only gold and no lion. This is the disclosure of the gold but the concealment of the lion" 若看師子唯師子無金。即師子顯金隱。若看金唯金無師子。即金顯師子隱.[118]

Although the account of its composition is likely apocryphal, the essay may be old enough to have been known to the author of the *Treatise*. Note also the analogy of the *chin-shih* 金師 (goldsmith or blacksmith) below (147b25, 147c4).

This is to be misled with regard to its name and confused with regard to its attributes 其名也迷、其相也惑: That is, one perceives an object possessing the attributes of a "person," but in fact there is only gold.

Guard the truth and embrace the One. Then you will not be defiled by external things. The Great Unity—clear and void—how could it be lost? 守眞抱一不染外物。清虛太一其何有失: The phrase *shou-chen* 守眞 can be traced to *shou ch'i chen* 守其眞 found in chapter 31 of the *Chuang-tzu* (87/31/31). *Pao-i* is found in the *Chuang-tzu* as well (62/23/34), but it is better known from *Tao-te ching* 10: "While bearing your bodily soul, can you embrace the One without losing it?" 載營魄抱一能無離乎. Chapter 22 of the same text reads: "The sage embraces the One and thereby serves as a model for all under heaven" 聖人抱一爲天下式. Wang Pi glosses the One in his commentary to *Tao-te ching* 10: "The One is that which is true in a person" 一人之眞也. The locus classicus for Taoist cosmological speculation on the One is *Tao-te ching* 42: "The Tao begets One; One begets two; two begets three; three begets the myriad things." The One thus occupies the medial position between the realm of nonbeing—the Tao itself—and the multifarious world of being. It shares in the transcendence and nonduality of the Tao but at the same time may be "embraced" (*pao* 抱) or "grasped" (*shou* 守).[119]

With the evolution of Taoist scriptures and the proliferation of Taoist deities, the One came to be interpreted in diverse ways. It has been identified variously as the Tao itself, as the god known as Grand Unity (*t'ai-i*), as the Three Ones (*san-i*), as the deified Lao-tzu, as the principal deity inhabiting the body, or as the god of one of the organs or "cinnabar fields" of the body.[120] The eighteenth chapter of the *Pao-p'u-tzu* manages to pull several of these strands together, presenting the One simultaneously as metaphysical principle, creative force, Taoist deity, and object of contemplation (Ware 1966:301–308). This sort of conflation is typical of medieval Taoist exegesis and contributes to the polysemy of many key Taoist terms.

More significant in the present context is the fact that "guard the truth and embrace the One" is related to the technical term "*shou-i*" 守一 (guard the One), an ancient expression that in time came to designate a host of Buddhist and Taoist exercises.[121] The phrase itself is usually traced to chapter 11 of the *Chuang-tzu*: "Heaven and earth have their controllers, the *yin* and *yang* their storehouses. You have only to take care and guard your own body; these other things will of themselves grow sturdy. As for myself, I guard this unity 守其一, abide in this harmony, and therefore I have kept myself alive for twelve hundred years, and never has my body suffered any decay."[122]

Early Taoist authors used *shou-i* to refer somewhat generically to states of meditative trance or mystical rapture. But with the development of Taoist visualization practices during the Six Dynasties, "guarding the One" came to designate specific procedures wherein the adept would contemplate the Great Unity or the Three Ones. The aim was both to commune with the most exalted of the divine inhabitants of the body (a presiding trinity) and to ensure their continued presence, since their departure led to certain illness and death. The specific identity of the Three Ones varies according to textual tradition, and groupings include not only gods residing within the body, but also the three celestial divinities (*san kao-shang* 三高上 or *san kao-t'ien* 三高天), the three astronomical bodies, the three terrestrial gods, and so on. Indeed, one of the most important of these trinities comprises the god T'ai-i along with the gods of heaven (*t'ien-i* 天一) and earth (*ti-i* 地一).[123]

The term "*shou-i*" is also ubiquitous in writings associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism; sometimes it specifically refers to the Three Ones, but more commonly it means "to concentrate on the Tao" (Robinet 1977:149–191). The following account by Li Jung is typical of the latter:

"When intention is free from bondage, all thoughts cease; when there are no attachments either within or without, the mind is calm. The spirit concentrated on the Tao, the will applied without wavering, this is what we call guarding the One."[124]

This meaning of *shou-i* as "maintaining unity of mind" rendered it a natural equivalent for Sanskrit *dhyāna*, *samādhi*, and *smṛti* in Chinese Buddhist writings.[125] The term is used as early as the Han, where it is found in meditation sūtras translated by Yen Fo-t'iao 嚴佛調 and An Shih-kao 安世高.[126] The ubiquitous presence of "guard the One" in early Buddhist texts prompted T'ang Yung-t'ung to suggest that the Taoists actually borrowed the term from the Buddhists, although evidence now indicates that the reverse was more likely the case.[127]

In the Sui and T'ang periods, "guard the One" and the related term "guard the mind" (*shou-hsin* 守心) were used extensively by masters associated with East Mountain Ch'an. The first term appears in an explanation of *dhyāna* or *samādhi* by the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin (580–651), and "guard the mind" is used in precisely the same manner in the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), a work attributed to the fifth patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (601–674).[128]

As a number of scholars have chronicled the use of *shou-i* in early Ch'an materials, my comments will be brief. McRae and Buswell both have noted the manner in which the appropriation of a Taoist term for Buddhist meditation facilitated the advancement of Northern Ch'an subitist ideology. The *i* of *shou-i* was understood as denoting the pure buddha-mind itself, and thus to "guard the One" was to make the absolute the content of one's meditation—to dwell in the awareness that buddha is mind itself. (Note that "to guard the One" was treated as the equivalent of "to guard the mind.") It would thus appear that the practice of *shou-i*, at least as interpreted by East Mountain teachers, "neither demanded the preparatory steps, such as observing moral injunctions, that typically preceded formal meditation practice in Indian Buddhism nor posited that the practice of *shou-i* invariably evolved through a graduated series of stages" (Buswell 1989: 142). Buswell concludes that "*shou-i* may be one of the first attempts within Ch'an to transform the Tathāgatagarbha ideology into a practical contemplative technique" (p. 144).

The term "*shou-i*" appears in the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra*, where it attests to the importance of the term in early Ch'an circles: "Taeryok Bodhisattva asked, 'What do you mean by "preserve the three and

guard the One, in order to access the *tathāgatadhyāna*?"' 存三守一入如來禪. The Buddha replied, ' "Preserve the three" means to preserve the three liberations. "Guard the One" means to guard the thusness of the one mind.' "[129] This passage, which may well be the earliest reference to *shou-i* in any Ch'an-related text, would have bestowed legitimacy on a term whose Taoist provenance was no doubt appreciated. The fact that the Taoist practice of guarding the Three Ones is here reinterpreted as "preserving the three liberations"—enumerated as the liberations of space (*hsü-k'ung chieh-t'o* 虛空解脫), *vajra* (*chin-kang chieh-t'o* 金剛解脫) and *prajñā* (*po-jo chieh-t'o* 般若解脫)[130]—suggests that this appropriation of Taoist terminology was intentional and calculated.

There is some evidence that the phrase "guard the One" fell into disfavor with the eclipse of Northern Ch'an. Faure has found what appears to be a critical reference to "guarding the One" in the *Hsin-hsin ming*: "If there is even a trace of 'is' or 'is not,' the mind will be lost in confusion. Although the two comes from the One, do not guard even this One" 才有是非紛然失心。二由一有一亦莫守 .[131] However, Faure goes on to cite the *Treasure Store Treatise* as evidence that, even toward the end of the eighth century, *shou-i* "continued to be practiced in certain syncretic environments under the influence of Taoism and Ch'an" (1984:868).

Grand Unity: See commentary to section 144c14 above.

145b1 **Access to the Way lies in inner emptiness and outer purity, just as water that is still and clear brilliantly reflects the myriad images. One's thoughts are not depressed, one's mind does not wander; without emerging or entering, one remains lucid, quiescent, and natural. When there is no opposition between inner and outer, no obstruction between consciousness and objects, when each upholds the One, then what use is there for words?**

Fire does not depend upon the sun for its heat, nor does the cool of the wind depend upon the moon. Water springs forth from solid rock; light shines forth from the darkness of heaven. Light and darkness are self-so; the dry and the wet coexist in the same place. If even material things do not oppose one another,[132] then how much more so the Way.

The imagery of this last paragraph points toward the self-sufficiency of all things, which reflects the noncontingency of the Tao.

Light shines forth from the darkness of heaven 天瞽猶光: I take *t'ien ku*, literally "the blindness of heaven," to refer to the black canopy of the sky, from which the light of the celestial objects issues forth. Koichi Shinohara has suggested that *t'ien-ku* 天瞽 may be a variant for the homophone 天鼓, "drumming of heaven," meaning "thunder."[133] The passage might then be read: "[lightning] shines forth from the [darkness of] thunder."

> 145b6 **The king considers all things to be for the benefit of the people. The people take refuge in the king, on whom they depend, and together they form a unity. The name [of this king] is Buddha. In the triple realm he alone is worthy of honor and is fully awakened to the absence of things. His doings are without purpose, and whatever he does is already complete. He is the teacher of gods and humans, fully omniscient, who through his expedient-response body guides all who suffer. Absolutely tranquil and empty, he is the sun of radiant and transcendent wisdom, illuminating the ten directions, at one with what lies above and blessing what lies below. He brooks no distinction with regard to person, defilement, meaning, or cause; being uniform and nondual, he is the perfectly penetrating single body that is known as the truth of the great schemata. Since this principle is difficult to perceive, he provisionally establishes expedient devices and analytical words and treatises, for it is made known through things.**

This description of a buddha, the ideal king, is a blend of traditional Buddhist rhetoric ("in the triple realm he alone is worthy of honor" and "teacher of gods and humans") and standard Chinese depictions of the Taoist sage ("his doings are without purpose"). Underlying the passage the theory of multiple buddha-bodies is seen in terminology such as "expedient-response body" (*ch'üan-ying-hsing* 權應形) and "perfectly penetrating single body" (*yüan-t'ung i-shen* 圓通一身), which is "uniform and nondual." The term "*ch'üan-ying*" 權應 occurs in Wei Shou's *Shih-lao chih*, where it functions as a rough equivalent of Sanskrit *nirmāṇakāya*. Wei Shou explains this body as but one aspect of the absolute *dharmakāya*: the absolute in substance is ever quiescent but produces expedient manifestations in response to the needs of unenlightened beings. See the extended discussion in Chapter 2 above.

Fully awakened to the absence of things 覺了無物: The term "*wu-wu*" 無物 (literally "no thing" or "devoid of things") is used frequently throughout this treatise. The term is originally of Taoist provenance and can be traced back to *Tao-te ching* 14: "Boundless and infinite, it

cannot be named and again returns to nothingness. This is called the form of formlessness, the image of nothingness" 繩繩不可名、復歸於無物。是謂無狀之狀、無物之象. The term also appears in the *Chuang-tzu* (4/2/34, 75/27/8) and is common in early Chinese Buddhist writings such as the *Chao lun*.[134]

Reference to *wu-wu* is found in a variety of early Ch'an materials as well. In the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* 傳法寶紀 (Annals of the Transmission of the Treasure of the Dharma), the earliest of the surviving transmission texts of the Ch'an tradition, there appears: "Vast, with no boundaries, empty and devoid of things—this is called the ethereal" 盪然無際空然無物、是謂妙物 (Yanagida 1967:570). And in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* 祖堂集 (Anthology of the Patriarchs' Hall) the term appears in what is purportedly an early exchange between Ta-tien Pao-t'ung 大顛寶通 (n.d.) and his teacher Shih-t'ou 石頭 (700–790): "Shih-t'ou said, 'How would you manifest my mind?' [Ta-tien] replied: 'No different from [Shih-t'ou]!' Shih-t'ou said: 'And before you appeared?' [Ta-tien] replied: 'Originally there is no thing' 無物. Shih-t'ou said: 'You are also no thing.' [Ta-tien] replied: 'No thing is then the true thing' 眞物. Shih-t'ou said: 'The true thing cannot be attained. The perceiving and reasoning activity of your mind is just like this.' "[135]

The phrase "not a single thing" (*wu-i-wu* 無一物), a variant of *wu-wu*, is also common in eighth-century Ch'an-related materials, including the *Wu fang-pien* 五方便 and the *Fa-chü-ching shu* 法句經疏.[136] Perhaps the best-known occurrence is in a later version (850s?) of the *Platform Sūtra*, in the third line of Hui-neng's famous verse on *bodhi*: "Bodhi originally has no tree; the bright mirror also has no stand. Fundamentally there is not a single thing 本來無一物 . Where could dust arise?"[137]

145b13 **Desire directed outward [constitutes] external objects, desire directed within [constitutes] the body, and desire to perceive [constitutes] the mind. Grasping at external objects constitutes the realm of desire, dependence on one's physical body constitutes the realm of form, and dependence on the discriminating mind constitutes the realm of nonform. To extinguish all three is called the truth of the Way. But since the Way lies in extinguishing even this truth, this Way is itself a mere expedient and is not yet correct.**

Vacuous and deluded—the three realms are not real. Illusory and dreamlike—the six paths [of rebirth] are nothing. Not rejecting a single dharma, not attaining a single dharma, not cultivating a single dharma, not realizing a single dharma, the essential purity of heaven's truth is known as the Great Way. Therefore, of those who discern all under

> **heaven, there are none who are not true men. Whomever attains this principle is equal to the one constant. Those who study it are few, those who attain it are rare, and thus it is known as vast and boundless but not easily known. Those who know it are masters, and those who flow with it are at ease. Without mind they are moved to action, but their action is without intent. Acting without intent, nothing is left undone. When things are borne by harmonious radiance, there is nothing that can bind them.**

Truth of the Way (*tao-ti* 道諦): This is the standard Chinese rendering of the noble eightfold path (Sk. *mārgasatya*), the last of the four noble truths.

Heaven's truth (*t'ien-chen* 天眞, cf. 150a12): In Buddhist materials this term denotes that which is "given by heaven," utterly untainted by human artifice, perhaps coming close to the English term "nature."[138] The compound owed its currency to chapter 31 of the *Chuang-tzu*: "Truth is what is received from heaven. It is what it is and cannot be altered" 眞者所以受於天也。自然不可易也 (87/31/37–38).

True men (*chen-jen* 眞人, cf. 149b19): The term appears in chapter 6 of the *Chuang-tzu*, which extols the virtues of the sage who lives in complete harmony with nature, utterly free of needs or concerns (15/6/4–16/6/20). The term continued to be used as a Taoist epithet for the sage, but it also assumed a more technical usage for one of the positions in the divine hierarchy of the immortals.[139] In early translations of Sanskrit sūtras, the term was employed to render Sanskrit *arhat*, and it continued to be used in Buddhist exegetical materials to refer to a Buddhist saint or sage (Nakamura 1981:786). The term is favored by later Ch'an writers following the lead of Lin-chi 臨濟 (d. 866), who coined the term "a true person without rank" 無位眞人 to refer to the buddha-mind itself.[140]

Those who study it are rare, those who attain it are few, and thus it is known as vast and boundless but not easily known. Those who know it are masters, and those who flow with it are at ease 其學者希、其得者微、可謂渺漠而難知。其知者師、其化者夷: The vocabulary draws from *Tao-te ching* 14: "Looking at it, it goes unseen; it is called evanescent. Listening to it, it goes unheard; it is called rarefied. Grasping at it, it cannot be caught; it is called subtle" 視之不見名曰夷。聽之不聞名曰希。摶之不得名曰微.

When things are borne by harmonious radiance, there is nothing that can bind them 和光任物、物無所羈: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 4: "Blunt the sharpness, unravel the knots, harmonize the radiance, mingle with the dust" 挫其鋭、解其紛、和其光、同其塵.[141]

145b23 Within heaven and earth,[142] inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain—the numinous radiance of sentient things.[143] Utterly empty, still, and difficult to perceive within or without,[144] it is styled[145] the "mystery of mysteries." Its skill reaches out beyond the [celestial palace] of Purple Subtlety, and its function resides in the very midst of empty nonbeing. Unmoving among manifold transformations, it is solitary and nondual. Its voice brings forth wondrous reverberations; its form spews forth iridescent displays. But look as you will, it has no locus; it is known to us as the emptiness of emptiness. It conveys only its sonance; its form is never seen. It conveys only its effects; its countenance is never seen. It illuminates the recondite and the manifest and utterly pervades the principle of things. It is the jeweled seal of the dense phenomenal array, the true essence of the myriad schemata. When it is active, there is form; when it is quiescent, there is darkness. It is originally pure, unilluminated, and naturally perfect and complete. Its radiance surpasses that of the sun and the moon, and its virtue surpasses that of the [heaven of] Great Clarity. The myriad things are without activity; everything is nameless. The revolving transformations of heaven and earth occur spontaneously in every direction, and with wondrous functions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, there is creation out of chaos.

Who hears of it and is not delighted? Who hears of it and is not astonished? How could this priceless treasure be hidden away within the depths of sentient existence? How tragic! How tragic! It is rendered worthless. How utterly distressing! How could darkness arise from what is bright? The treasure is brilliant and resplendent, shining throughout the ten directions, solitary, quiescent, and unmoving. Its responsive functions are magnificent: it responds to sound, responds to form, and responds to *yin* and *yang*. Extraordinary and without cause, it is empty, lucid, and eternal. Straining the eyes, it cannot be seen; inclining the ear, it cannot be heard. It is rooted in darkness, and its transformations give us form. Its activity is that of the sage, and its functions are numinous. Thus it is known as the seminal essence of the Great Way. This seminal essence is very real: it is the causal ground of the myriad things, firm and eternally abiding. As a moral constant it is equal to the Way itself. Therefore, the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the buddha-land is pure." Endowed with a dense array of functions, it is called the sage.

Within heaven and earth, inside all the cosmos, there is contained a singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain 天地之内、宇宙

之間、中有一寶、祕在形山: In later Ch'an literature this would become the single most frequently cited line from the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Ch'an exegetes identified the "singular treasure concealed in the form-mountain" with the buddha-mind hidden within the human body and treated the entire phrase as a *kung-an*—a concise formulation of doctrine that served as the object of reflection, exegesis, and formal debate. Later tradition records that Yün-men used it as such, perhaps contributing to the popularity of the *Treasure Store Treatise* in the later Ch'an exegesis. There is, however, an earlier citation in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* biography of Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良价 (807–869) that mentions neither Seng-chao nor the *Treasure Store Treatise* (2.63.1–2).

The passage does not appear in the *Yün-men lu* 雲門録 itself, but a host of later Sung compilations record that Yün-men used the passage in his teaching. These texts include case 62 of the *Pi-yen lu*, the *Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu* 宏智禪師廣録, and the *Ts'ung-jung lu* 從容録, major Ch'an works representing both the Lin-chi and Ts'ao-tung traditions.[146] In Chapter 1 of this study I discussed how the *Pi-yen lu* and *Ts'ung-jung lu* passages associate this quotation with an apocryphal story linking the composition of the *Treasure Store Treatise* with the execution of Seng-chao. This story contributed, no doubt, to the passage's cachet as it was disseminated throughout China and Japan via these major compilations.

Finally, the Korean master Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210) quotes the passage in his *Chinsim chiksŏl* 眞心直説, wrongly attributing it to the *Chao lun*.[147] Buswell remarks that the *Treasure Store Treatise* passage was used as a *kung-an* in the medieval Korean Sŏn tradition as well (Buswell 1983:168, 188 n. 46).

It is styled the "mystery of mysteries" 其號玄玄: See commentary to section 143c24 above.

Purple Subtlety (*tzu-wei* 紫微): This is the name of a star in the north portion of the big dipper, the home of T'ien-ti 天帝, the supreme celestial thearch. This celestial palace was thought to be similar to those found on earth. In the *Lun-heng* 論衡, for example, Wang Ch'ung (27–97) reports that "the location in the sky of a Sky Divinity is just like the residence of a king. The royal one resides within a double barrier, and so the divinity of the sky is suitably placed within a hidden and secret place. As the royal person resides within the buildings

of a palace, so the sky too has its Grand Palace of Purple Tenuity 紫微宮" (trans. Schafer 1977:47). Schafer remarks:

> The "Purple Palace," as it was sometimes called for short, was the residence of Heaven's Illustrious Great Theocrat, who reveals himself as Yilduz [the star Polaris, Yilduz from Turkish *yildiz* "the Star"], which is itself, like him, the secret embryo and quintessence of the god Grand Monad [太一], revealed as Kochab [Ursa Minor]. Surrounding both of them and their attendants, was the Wall of Purple Tenuity, a circumpolar constellation of about 15° radius, largely composed of the stars of Draco. (1977:47)

The term "*tzu-wei*" occurs in the third chapter of *Lieh-tzu* as the name for the residence of the thearch (Kobayashi 1967:134) as well as in the *Huang-t'ing ching* (*nei* 22:13 註 , *nei* 4:10 註). In the present instance it represents an unimaginably distant place in the heavens.

Solitary and nondual 獨而無叟: See the discussion of the similar phrase 無伴無侶 above (143c15–16).

It is known to us as the emptiness of emptiness 寄號空空: This parallels the sentence "It is styled the 'mystery of mysteries' " 其號玄玄 , which appears just a few lines back and draws a conceptual connection between the Buddhist "emptiness of emptiness" and the Taoist "mystery of mysteries." See the discussion of this relationship in Chapter 2.

The recondite and the manifest 幽顯: This pairing is used to refer to the general distinction between the realms of the invisible and the visible (MH 4.536); see, for example, the *Chao lun*: "Principle is without [any distinction between] the recondite and the manifest" 理無幽顯.[148]

It is the jeweled seal of the dense phenomenal array, the true essence of the myriad schemata 森羅寶印、萬象眞宗: In Taoist contexts "jeweled seal" (*pao-yin* 寶印) can refer to a diagram or seal (*yin*) regarded as a divine treasure (*pao*) bestowed by heaven (Robinet 1979: 37–44). In Buddhist literature the term may refer to the second of the three jewels (i.e., the dharma) or to the symbols of the buddhas or bodhisattvas, typically sacred letters, symbols, or words enshrined on a stūpa.

The third chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise* quotes a line from an unidentified scripture: "The dense phenomenal array and the

myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma" 森羅及萬象、一法之所印 (148c1–2). This line turns out to be taken from the apocryphal *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* 佛說法句經 (sometimes referred to as the Pseudo-Dharmapada): "[All things in] the triple realm are only mind; the dense phenomenal array and the myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma" 三界唯心、森羅及萬象、一法之所印 .[149] This passage is reproduced in a number of texts associated with early Ch'an, the *Treasure Store Treatise* being the earliest, and the pericope likely underlies the passage at hand.[150]

The term "*sen-lo*" 森羅, which appears repeatedly in the *Treasure Store Treatise*,[151] is also closely connected with early Ch'an literature. Although difficult to translate, the term refers to the manifold array of phenomena composing the world of being, all of which are born of the absolute, whether it be called the Tao, the singular dharma, or the buddha-mind.[152]

The [heaven of] Great Clarity (*t'ai-ch'ing* 太清): While the term "Great Clarity" has its origins in the *Chuang-tzu*,[153] by the Six Dynasties it had come to refer to a specific celestial realm in Taoist cosmology. The T'ai-ch'ing is one of the "three purities"—higher paradises to which immortals may ascend at death—that are situated directly beneath the highest heaven of all: Ta-lo 大羅.[154] According to some sources, Lao-tzu himself presides over this realm, dwelling in the palace known as the T'ai-ch'ing kung 大清宮 (Benn 1977:209). Ko Hung, in describing the miraculous methods by which immortals travel, says: "Some build a flying vehicle from the pith of the jujube tree and have it drawn by a sword with a thong of buffalo hide at the end of its grip. Others let their thoughts dwell on the preparation of a joint rectangle from five serpents, six dragons, and three buffaloes, and mount on this for forty *li* to Great Clarity 太清. In Great Clarity the atmosphere 氣 is very dense and capable of supporting people."[155]

The term appears in *Treasure Store Treatise* chapter 2 (146a28) as an epithet for the Tao itself and is equated with the "true essence" (*chen-ching* 眞精, see also 150a15). Nonetheless, the current context suggests that Great Clarity refers to a distant celestial realm of unbounded virtue.

Chaos (*hun-tun* 混沌): This term appears frequently in the *Chuang-tzu*, the *Tao-te ching*, and the *Huai-nan-tzu*, where it denotes the natural or primitive state of affairs before the advent of class distinctions, hierarchical political structures, and human artifice—what Needham calls "a state of pre-feudal collectivism" (1956:115). As such it has a

range of meanings including "turbid," "confused," "undifferentiated," "homogeneous," and so on.[156]

Priceless treasure 無價之寶: This is an allusion to the well-known parable from chapter 8 of the *Lotus Sūtra*:

> There is a man who arrives at the house of a close friend, where he gets drunk on wine, then lies down. At that time, his friend, having official business, is on the point of going away, when he sews a priceless jewel into the interior of the first man's garment and departs, leaving it with him. The first man, laid out drunk, is unaware of anything. When he has recovered, he sets out on his travels, then reaches another country, where he devotes every effort to the quest for food and clothing. He suffers such hardship that he is content with however little he may get. Then his friend, encountering him by chance, speaks these words to him: "Alas, Sir! How can you have come to this for the sake of mere food and clothing? Once I, wishing to afford you comfort and joy, as well as the natural satisfaction of your five desires … sewed a priceless jewel into the inside of your garment. Surely it is still there. Yet you, not knowing of it, have suffered pain and grief in quest of a livelihood."[157]

In the *Lotus* this parable occurs in the context of the prophecy of the eventual buddhahood of the *arhat*s, who, like the poor man of the story, are unaware that the jewel of buddhahood lies always within reach. The "treasure" refers more specifically to the buddha-nature or buddha-mind possessed by all sentient beings.

Hidden away within the depths of sentient existence 陰入之坑: *Yin-ju* 陰入 is a Buddhist compound referring collectively to the five "aggregates" (*skandha*) and the twelve "sense-fields" (*āyatana*). The five aggregates are five categories of dharmas (form, perception, conception, volition, and consciousness), which in their totality compose a sentient person. The twelve sense-fields are the six sense organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind) and their corresponding sensory fields. In more contemporary jargon the compound might be rendered "psychophysical existence."[158]

Therefore, the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the buddha-land is pure" 故經云：隨其心淨、則佛土淨: This is from the Kumārajīva translation of the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*.[159] The same line is also quoted in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (Records of the Masters and Disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra*).[160]

4

The *Treasure Store Treatise* Chapter Two:

The Essential Purity of Transcendence and Subtlety

The first chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise* ends with a quotation from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, proclaiming the purity of a buddha-land to be a function of the purity of one's own mind. Coming as it does after the literary excursions into the arcane cosmological labyrinth of the first chapter, this short quotation acts as an effective transition to the more classically Mahāyānist concerns of chapter 2. It also introduces one of the major themes of this chapter: that the Way lies not in any particular practice but rather in purity of mind and that this purity of mind is no more and no less than the absence of deluded or discursive thought (*wang-hsiang* 妄想, *nien-lü* 念慮). "Only when one is free of deluded thought is the Way of transcendence and subtlety revealed" (146b14).

Since freedom from discursive mental activity—a state sometimes referred to as "no-mind" (*wu-hsin* 無心)—is itself the Tao, all words and teachings, insofar as they are products of discrimination, necessarily fall short of the mark. The second chapter repeatedly insists that truth is, in the end, ineffable and that all teachings are merely contingent or expedient means: "Visible things are like shadows, audible things like echoes. Only through shadows and echoes can things be signified, yet this never succeeds in capturing reality. Therefore, the finger is not the moon, and words are not the Way. When the Way is attained, words are forgotten, [just as] the finger is forgotten as soon as the moon is seen" (146b27–c1). As all teachings are mere *upāya*, ultimately "verbal explanations are entirely unnecessary, including those pertaining to transcendence and subtlety [i.e., the *Treasure Store Treatise* itself]" (147a22). The *Treasure Store Treatise* repeatedly warns of the perils of attachment to language and of

the dangers of hypostatizing the absolute and rendering it an object of striving: "In seeking the dharma, there is nothing to be sought. Therefore, one should not harbor desire for the nameless unwrought substance" (146a22–23). And again: "Those who foolishly believe there is something to be grasped or rejected, something to be cultivated or attained, will not enter into true reality" (146b10–12). Deluded thought is precisely that which is attached to existence or nonexistence, and thus the sage does not seek even to "cut off delusion" (*pu tuan wang* 不斷妄, 156a21). Ignorance is the mind indulging in distinctions, including the distinction between delusion and illumination. "No-thought" or "no-mind" is precisely the mind that is free from all such judgments. The mind of the sage regards all things as "uniform" (*p'ing-teng* 平等) and grasps the "nonduality" (*pu-erh* 不二) of opposing terms. The chapter concludes with a lengthy discussion of "attributes" (*hsiang* 相) and "nonattributes" (*wu-hsiang* 無相), which are subject to a Mādhyamika-style deconstruction.

While the influence of Mādhyamika dialectic, particularly as mediated through Chinese exegetical works such as the *Chao lun,* is in ample evidence, the *Treasure Store Treatise* does not shy away from literary invocations of the absolute—the truth that is beyond all dualities. A variety of rubrics come into play, including "supreme principle" (*chih-li* 至理), "wondrous principle" (*miao-li* 妙理), "true one" (*chen-i* 眞一), "true reality" (*chen-shih* 眞實), "apex of truth" (*chen-chi* 眞際), "apex of reality" (*shih-chi* 實際), "the Great Way" (*ta-tao* 大道), and so on. The *Treasure Store Treatise* never clearly distinguishes these terms one from the other, presumably because they stand for that which brooks no distinctions. Nevertheless, much of the treatise reads as an ode to the virtues of this something about which nothing can be said.

The themes mentioned above are all typical of eighth-century works that have come to be associated with the nascent Ch'an movement. The emphasis on the ineffability of the absolute and the contingent nature of all teachings, the fact that many of the terms used to designate the absolute are of Taoist provenance, and the assertion that the way of the sage lies in the eradication of deluded conceptualization show the intellectual affinity of the *Treasure Store Treatise* with texts associated with the Northern School and Ox Head traditions. What makes this chapter unique, however, is the fact that much of the discussion is structured around the juxtaposition of two terms: "transcendence" (*li* 離) and "subtlety" (*wei* 微). This terminological

innovation has no clear antecedents in any prior Chinese literary work.

Transcendence and Subtlety

The transcendence-subtlety opposition ranks as perhaps the single most important contribution of this treatise to later Ch'an exegesis. Contemporary scholarship usually cites the *Treasure Store Treatise* as the locus classicus for the juxtaposition of *li* and *wei*.[1] When modern dictionaries refer to classical sources other than the *Treasure Store Treatise* in their entries on *li-wei*, such sources are invariably Sung compilations that borrowed the terms directly or indirectly from this text.[2] Moreover, these later Sung works did not make any significant contribution to the philosophical understanding of *li* and *wei*; the only substantive discussion of the meaning of the terms is found here in the second chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

There is some evidence, however, that the juxtaposition of *li* and *wei* predates the composition of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The second chapter of the text twice cites an unidentified source or sources in which the pair appears: "Therefore, the scripture says, 'Perceiving the subtle is called buddha; knowing transcendence is called dharma'" 故經云：見微名爲佛、知離名爲法 (146b3–4); and again: "Therefore, the scripture says, 'Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence constitutes inherent nature'" 故經云：微妙甚深、離自性也 (146c11–12). Kamata was unable to trace the source of these quotations and suggests that they must have been culled from an apocryphal Taoist-influenced Buddhist work (Kamata 1965:385). Such a source, if indeed there was one, was most likely lost at an early date, as all references to the *li-wei* distinction in surviving Chinese materials are clearly derived from the *Treasure Store Treatise*. At the same time, one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the quotations were devised by the author of the *Treasure Store Treatise* to legitimize his own terminological innovations.[3] (At the very least, it appears that the second quotation has been taken out of context; see my commentary below.)

Talk of *li* and *wei* diffused rapidly throughout Ch'an writings in the Sung, and the pairing appears in many of the major *kung-an* and *yü-lu* compilations.[4] Each of the compilations relied on its predecessors, and although many of the compilers were aware that the *li-wei* juxta-

position originated with the *Treasure Store Treatise*, they were not necessarily conversant with the contents of the treatise. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that as the nomenclature spread through Ch'an literary circles, the original conceptual and literary nuances of *li* and *wei* were occasionally lost. The *Wu-men kuan* 無門關 appears to use *li-wei* to stand generically for *all* dualistic distinctions: case 24 opens with the *kung-an* "Speech and silence entail [the dualism of] transcendence and subtlety. How can one pass through without transgressing?" 語默涉離微。如何通不犯.[5] And Hung-chih 宏智 (1091–1157) may also be guilty of conceptual reductionism when he states: "In entering, one perceives the very root of transcendence and subtlety; in emerging, one roams through the gateway of illusory transformations" 入見離微之根、出游幻化之門.[6] (Note that the *Treasure Store Treatise* explicitly associates "entering" with transcendence and "emerging" with subtlety.) But it is also possible to read Hung-chih as sublating the opposition of transcendence and subtlety in order to mitigate their reification. How, then, are the terms "*li*" and "*wei*" to be understood in the context of the *Treasure Store Treatise*?

The *Shuo-wen* explains *wei* as "concealed activity" 微隠行也, and other early Chinese sources define *wei* as indistinct (*pu ming* 不明), small or minute (*hsiao* 小), lacking form (*wu hsing* 無形), delicate or fine (*hsi* 細), and so on (MH 4.911). The philosophical use of *wei* can be traced back to the *Tao-te ching*; in section 14 is found: "Grasping at it, it cannot be caught; it is called subtle" 搏之不得名曰微. And a little later, in section 15, the text reads: "Those of old who excelled in the Way were subtle and wondrous, mysterious and penetrating" 古之善爲士者微妙玄通. In the *Tao-te ching*, to be *wei* is to be "highly refined," "insubstantial," or "rarefied"; that which is *wei* is not nonexistent but rather so subtle as to be virtually indiscernible, like the pneuma (*ch'i* 氣). Thus the *Hsiang-erh* 想爾 commentary, commenting on *Tao-te ching* 15, says: "The mysterious refers to heaven. The ancient immortals were able to maintain their faith in the subtle and wondrous, and commingle with heaven itself. [The mysterious] is profound and imperceptible; if people practice the Way following the precepts, their *subtle pneuma* returns thither. This pneuma is unfathomably deep, and therefore it is imperceptible" 玄天也。古之仙人能守信微妙、與天相通。深不可識。人行道奉誡、微氣歸之。爲氣淵淵深也。故不可識也 (Mugitani 1985:5.6–8). Again, in glossing the line from *Tao-te ching* 5 "The space between heaven and earth is like a bellows" 天地之間其猶

槖籥, the *Hsiang-erh* says: "The pneuma of the Way occupies that space. It is clear, subtle, and invisible" 道氣在間、清微不見 (Mugitani 1985: 1.30).

The term "*wei*" is commonly associated with *miao* 妙 (wondrous, exquisite, or ethereal) in early philosophical works. Wang Pi links the terms throughout his commentary to the *Tao-te ching*. In response to a line in *Tao-te ching* 1 ("Therefore always remain free of desire in order to discern the wondrous" 故常無欲以觀其妙), Wang Pi comments: "The wondrous is the very apex of subtlety. The myriad things originate in the subtle and later achieve completion; they originate in nonbeing and are later born. Therefore, if you always remain free of desire and empty, you will be able to discern the wonder of the origin of things" 妙者微之極也、萬物始於微而後成、始於無而後生。故常無欲空虛、可以觀其始物之妙.

These early Taoist works are consistent in their use of *wei* to denote or describe that which lies between the nonbeing (*wu* 無) of the Tao itself and the manifold existence (*yu* 有) of the phenomenal realm. *Wei* is the material analogue of the One that emerges from the Tao and in turn gives birth to all things. It is associated with the pneuma that circulates through and animates all living things.

The term "*wei*" is found throughout Buddhist works as early as the Six Dynasties, although in Buddhist usage the metaphysical connotations are often, although not necessarily, attenuated. In the *Chao lun*, where the term appears some seventeen times, it usually means "abstruse" or "difficult to grasp." Seng-chao speaks, for example, of "the subtle words of the scriptures" 衆經之微言 and asks readers to "examine closely the sayings of the sages, which are subtle, recondite, and difficult to fathom" 覆尋聖言微隱難測.[7] But echoes of the earlier metaphysical use of *wei* can still be detected when Seng-chao writes: "The mind of the sage is subtle and wondrous and devoid of attributes; it cannot be deemed to exist, [and yet] the vigor of its functions is such that it cannot be deemed nonexistent" 夫聖心者微妙無相。不可爲有、用之彌勤、不可爲無.[8] In the *Chao lun* subtlety is closely associated with the terms "abstruse" (*yu* 幽), "recondite" or "hidden" (*yin* 隠), and "wondrous" (*miao* 妙). At times, *wei* appears to be used as an attribute of the absolute itself.[9]

The *Pien-cheng lun*, a collection of Buddhist polemical writings compiled in 626 by Fa-lin, includes a tract titled "Pneuma Is the Foundation of the Way" (*Ch'i wei tao-chih-pen p'ien* 氣爲道之本篇), which

records a debate between Buddhists and Taoists on a variety of cosmological controversies. Fa-lin's "Taoists" explicitly make the connection between the "subtle" (*wei*) and the "pneuma" (*ch'i*):

> The [Taoist] adept says:[10] In the commentaries of famous Juists of old as well as the commentary of Duke Ho-shang, we read: "Look and it is not seen; this is called evanescent." The evanescent is the seminal essence. "Listen and it is not heard; this is called rarefied." The rarefied is the spirit. "Grasp and it cannot be caught; this is called subtle." The subtle is the pneuma.[11] … Lao-tzu took the three pneumas of the primal origin, united them into one, and arrived at the substance out of which people are modeled. "Essence" is the essential numina, "spirit" is that which transforms, and "pneuma" is the pneuma schemata. 通人曰：古來名儒及河上公注五千文：視之不見名曰夷。夷者精也。聽之不聞名曰希。希者神也。摶之不得名曰微。微者氣也…老子以元始三氣合而爲一、是至人法體。精是精靈、神是變化、氣是氣象.[12]

One can then construct the following tripartite cosmogonic scheme: (1) the evanescent, which corresponds to the seminal essence, gives rise to (2) the rarefied, which corresponds to the spirit and gives rise to (3) the subtle, which is the pneuma or breath. In both terminology and style, the passage is reminiscent of the opening sections of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, but this should not be surprising. The Taoist representatives in early T'ang Buddho-Taoist debates were figures associated with Twofold Mystery writings, and this tradition was responsible in part for the Taoist terminology and rhetoric that permeates the *Treasure Store Treatise*. The interpretation of *wei* as *ch'i*, or "rarefied spiritual pneuma," may well influence the *Treasure Store Treatise* appropriation of the term.

Whereas grammatically *wei* is a stative verb (i.e., a predicative adjective), or adverb, *li* more commonly occurs as a full transitive or intransitive verb (to detach, disconnect, distance, estrange, free from, isolate, leave, let go of, part, release, remove, retire, separate, and so on). *Wei* lends itself more naturally to nominalization than does *li*, and indeed, before lexical experiments in Ch'an-related works, it is unusual (although not unknown) to find *li* functioning as a substantive.[13]

While *li* appears as the name of both a trigram and a hexagram in the *I ching*, it is not clear that this usage had any bearing on its use in medieval philosophical discourse.[14] The more technical use of the term would appear to be indebted to its appearance in Chinese Buddhist literature. Buddhist scriptures employ *li* in numerous compounds such as "freedom from passion" (*li ai* 離愛), "freedom from desire" (*li yü* 離欲), "freedom from suffering" (*li k'u* 離苦), "freedom from dis-

crimination" (*li fen-pieh* 離分別), "freedom from defilement" (*li kou* 離垢, also 離塵, 離染, 離煩惱), and so on. The term "*li*" is thus associated with the quintessentially Buddhist activity of "detaching oneself from," "freeing oneself from," "disentangling oneself from," or "abstaining from." Indeed, to *li* the defilements (or attachment or desire) utterly is to attain nirvāṇa.

The activity of *li*, or "freeing oneself from," is associated in particular with the doctrines of the so-called Northern School of Ch'an, and the term is ubiquitous in works linked to this lineage. Indeed, the term figured in the celebrated dispute between the Northern and Southern Schools. The Northern School advocated *li nien* 離念 (often translated "freedom from thought"), a practice that derived perhaps from the phrase "the mind essentially free of thought" 心體離念 found in the *Awakening of Faith in the Great Vehicle* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*).[15] The Southern School rejected the emphasis on *li nien* as a misguided injunction to willfully suppress thought itself.

In an attempt to elucidate the original intent behind the Northern Ch'an usage of *li*, Robert Zeuschner surveyed the use of the term in Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese literature. He organized his findings into five distinct "families of meanings," which can be summarized as follows:

1. To be distant from, apart from, or separate from
2. To remove or abolish
3. To transcend
4. To be [mentally] detached from
5. To be logically separate from, in the sense of belonging to a different category (Zeuschner 1983:134–146)

After surveying numerous occurrences in Northern Ch'an texts such as the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men* 大乘無生方便門 (Five Expedient Means for [Attaining] the Birthlessness of the Great Vehicle, T. 2834), the *Kuan-hsin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on Discerning Mind, T.2833), and the *Tsan ch'an-men shih* 讚禪門詩 (Poem in Praise of Ch'an, T. 2839), Zeuschner concludes that the texts lend themselves to a variety of possible readings, so that it is impossible to settle on any one of those listed above.[16] More important, in the vast majority of cases, *li* occurs in a verb-object construction of the type *li*-X, where X stands for thinking, suffering, attachment, form, falsehood, and so on. In other words, *li* is used in the sense of "free from," or "liberated from," rather than "freedom" or "liberation." There is, however, one interesting exception found in a passage in the *Tsan ch'an-men shih*:

> The preceptor asks: What is awakening? [The disciple] responds: Awakening is transcendence. Transcendence is to transcend thought. To transcend each and everything—form and mind both transcended.... The preceptor asks: Has the disciple attained transcendence or not? [The disciple] responds: I have transcended transcendence.[17] Transcendence is buddha. And what is buddha? Buddha is awakening. 和言：覺是沒。答：覺是離。離是離念。一一離色心俱離…和言：子得離不。答：得離離。離是佛。佛是沒。佛是覺.[18]

This short work survives as part of a single manuscript recovered at Tun-huang that also includes the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men* (S.2503). The passage at hand is related to a section of the responsive liturgy at the beginning of the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men*,[19] and one can thus tentatively date the *Tsan ch'an-men shih* to the time of Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606?–706). Although the *Tsan ch'an-men shih* derives *li*, or "transcendence," directly from *li nien*, "to transcend thought," it is also evident that *li* has taken on a life of its own and is explicitly identified with both "buddhahood" (*fo* 佛) and "awakening" (*chüeh* 覺). This usage is remarkably close to the use of *li* in the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

The terms "*li*" and "*wei*"—"transcendence" and "subtlety"—are found juxtaposed throughout the second chapter of the treatise, and it may be best to begin by allowing the *Treasure Store Treatise* to speak for itself:

> That which is called transcendent is in essence neither one with things nor separate 離 from them. It is like a bright mirror reflecting a myriad images: the mirror is not one with the reflections, nor is it in essence separate from them. Or again, it is like space, which suffuses all things without being tainted.... That which is called subtle is in essence ethereal and devoid of shape, form, and attributes. It functions in response to things and assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance is never observed. It garners a hundred skills, yet its labors are never revealed. Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard. Yet it possesses a myriad virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.... Therefore, the two words "transcendent" and "subtle" encompass the essentials of the Way. Because it leaves no traces in the six senses, it is called transcendent. Because its myriad functions are all devoid of a self, it is called subtle. But subtlety is precisely transcendence, and transcendence is precisely subtlety. It is only in respect to whether it is [considered from the perspective of its unmanifest] source or its manifest phenomena that we use these two terms. In essence they are one. (146a6–17)

> The reason the sage is free of deluded thought is that he has penetrated transcendence; the reason he is possessed of rare and wonder-

ful functions is that he fully apprehends subtlety. Being subtle, he is without mind, and being transcendent, he is without body. (146b16–18)

One who fully comprehends transcendence is not attached to anything, is untainted by desire, and has passed over the realm of evil demons. One who fully comprehends subtlety is quiescent and still, free of deluded thought. (146c9–11)

Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal and employ the hidden arts. Moreover, transcendence is empty and subtlety is extant. Being empty, it is devoid of attributes, but being extant, it has shape and extension. (146c21–23)

Transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is functioning. Being accommodating, it admits impurity, and in its functioning it is without peer. Being without peer, its wondrous transformations continue unabated. As it admits impurity, manifold existence is able to abide therein. Moreover, that which has no eyes and ears is called transcendent; that which can see and hear is called subtle. That which is free of self and contrivance is called transcendent; that which possesses wisdom and functions is called subtle. That which is without mind and without thought is called transcendent; that which permeates and penetrates is called subtle. Moreover, transcendence is nirvāṇa, and subtlety is *prajñā*. With *prajñā* there arise multifarious great functions. With nirvāṇa there is quiescence and extinction without residue. (147a1–7)

The attribute that is the absence of attributes is called transcendence, because in essence transcendence is the absence of attributes. That attributes are identical with nonattributes is called subtlety, because in essence subtlety is not devoid of attributes. (147c21–22)

A complete survey of passages mentioning *li* and *wei* in this chapter leads to the following list of opposing attributes:

transcendence 離	subtlety 微
nirvāṇa 涅槃	*prajñā* 般若
knowing 知	seeing 見
dharma 法	buddha 佛
nonexistence 無	existence 有
nonaction 無爲	functions 用
absence of attributes 無相	possession of attributes 有相
entering 入	emerging 出
no-body 無身	no-mind 無心
freedom from deluded thought 無妄想	possession of rare and wonderful functions 有奇特之用

When such attributes are organized in this fashion, it is evident that the distinction between *li* and *wei* recapitulates the very traditional Mahāyāna opposition between two aspects of buddhahood, the "gone beyond" aspect and the "compassionately present" aspect. On the one hand, Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim that a buddha, having realized emptiness, has "crossed to the other shore"—he is utterly quiescent and free from the taint of worldly dust. On the other hand, out of his compassion a buddha remains present in, although untouched by, the defiled world, where he applies his perfect wisdom and skillful means to the conversion of all beings. These two divergent yet complementary aspects of buddhahood assume many forms in Mahāyāna exegesis: they lie behind the contrast between buddha and bodhisattva, emptiness and skillful means, wisdom and compassion, and so on. In China, these moieties are commonly explicated in terms of "essence" (*t'i* 體) and "function" (*yung* 用), or "principle" (*li* 理) and "phenomena" (*shih* 事). These native Chinese categories facilitated the appropriation of Indian Buddhist dialectic, while circumventing the need to reproduce in detail the rather complex logical formulations characteristic of some Indian scholastic works. The rhetoric of *t'i* and *yung*, or *li* and *shih*, allowed the Chinese to affirm the distinctiveness of contrary or contradictory terms, while at the same time asserting their ultimate unity. The *buddhakāya* theory is similarly mobilized in the effort to reconcile apparently contradictory positions; the unmanifest, empty, and quiescent aspect of buddhahood is identified as the dharma-body, while the manifest and active aspect goes under the rubric of the transformation-body or the resonant-body. The relationship of dharma-body to transformation-body is that of essence to function, or principle to phenomena—they are two aspects of what is ultimately a single and undifferentiated whole.

The *Treasure Store Treatise* similarly seeks to affirm transcendence and subtlety as dual on the one hand and unified on the other. The unity of the two is expressed variously as "intrinsic nature" (*tzu-hsing* 自性), "the True One" (*chen-i* 眞一), "supreme principle" (*chih-li* 至理), and the "Great Way" (*ta-tao* 大道). But while the Buddhist moieties of emptiness and form, wisdom and compassion, principle and phenomena, or transcendence and subtlety may express a common underlying logical and conceptual pattern, they cannot be simply equated, as they operate in somewhat different rhetorical contexts.

The polysemy of the terms "transcendence" and "subtlety" allows the *Treasure Store Treatise* to converse simultaneously in what might be

considered different modes of discourse, namely, the metaphysical and the soteriological. On the one hand, *li* alludes to the Tao itself—transcendent, devoid of attributes, untouched by the evanescent realm of being. At the same time, it refers to the mind of the sage, utterly detached and free of defilement. Like the Tao, the mind of the sage moves within and among things but is untouched by them; it is everywhere yet remains mysterious and aloof. Finally, *li* denotes the means of becoming a sage and sharing in the quiescence of the Tao, namely, the practice of abandoning all conceptualization, which in turn brings an end to desire and attachment.

Wei can denote that refined and subtle substance of the breath, imperceptible yet nonetheless extant, permeating everywhere and penetrating everything. It also characterizes the mind of the sage, which, though dwelling in nonaction, remains in the world of being and acts out of infinite compassion and wisdom. Whereas *li* denotes the inner detachment of the sage, *wei* refers to his outward activity—his spontaneous and selfless response to all living beings. I mentioned in Chapter 2 of this study that Han cosmologists viewed *ch'i* as the medium or agency behind the principle of sympathetic resonance. *Wei*, identified with *ch'i*, is the "substance" of the wondrous response functions (*ying-yung* 應用) of the sage, who, remaining essentially transcendent, transforms (*hua* 化) and manifests (*hsien* 顯) himself in the contingent realm of sentient beings.

The juxtaposition of transcendence and subtlety is exemplary of the sort of terminological innovation that continued to facilitate the naturalization of Buddhist thought in medieval China. Neither Buddhist nor Taoist could claim exclusive rights to the terminology, yet both would have appreciated the rich network of associations and the dialectical interplay involved in the pairing of *li* and *wei*. In short, the author of the *Treasure Store Treatise* adopts and reconfigures the terms "transcendence" and "subtlety" in a manner that exploits both Buddhist and Taoist literary and metaphysical antecedents—a rhetorical device characteristic of prevailing belletristic fashions of the time.

Translation and Commentary

145c13 **Chapter Two: The Essential Purity of Transcendence and Subtlety**

In entering there is transcendence and in emerging there is subtlety. The entering of wisdom is transcendent, [since] the outer defilements

have no support. The emergence of wisdom is subtle, [since] the inner mind is devoid of activity.[20] When inwardly the mind is free of intentional activity, one is no longer moved by various views. When outer defilements have no support, one is no longer bound by manifold existence.[21] Free from the bonds of manifold existence,[22] discursive thought no longer charges about. Unmoved by various views, there is inconceivable quiescence and cessation. This can be called originally pure and intrinsic transcendence and subtlety.[23]

It is in regard to entering that we speak of transcendence and in respect to functioning that we speak of subtlety. When fused into one, there is neither transcendence nor subtlety. Intrinsic transcendence cannot be defiled, and since there is no defilement, there is no purity. Intrinsic subtlety cannot be deemed extant, and in the absence of existence, there is no support.[24] Thus it functions, yet it is not extant; it is quiescent, yet it is not nonexistent. As it is not nonexistent, it does not cease; as it is not extant, it is not eternal.

In entering there is transcendence and in emerging there is subtlety 其入離、其出微: In the introduction to this chapter I briefly mentioned the opposition between "entering" (*ju* 入) and "emergence" (*ch'u* 出). The Mahāyāna path is often depicted as a process of first entering seclusion—the seclusion of the monastery, the forest, the mountains, or meditative absorption—and later reemerging into the "marketplace" (to borrow an image from the ox-herding pictures). Having perfected wisdom, compassion, and skillful means in reclusion, the bodhisattva reenters the defiled world without being corrupted by it.

The juxtaposition of entering and emerging is then structurally parallel to the pairing of transcendence and subtlety. But while the dialectic of *li* and *wei* tends toward the abstract and metaphysical, the terms "entering" and "emerging" simultaneously situate the discussion in the concrete and existential. The superimposition of praxis-related exegesis on a metaphysically oriented tract is a characteristic Ch'an rhetorical strategy, a strategy that can be, at its worst, relentlessly reductionistic. (On the reductionistic end is what is known in Japan as "mind-discerning exegesis" [J. *kanjin-shaku* 觀心釋], a commentarial penchant for treating each and every scriptural statement as an injunction to contemplate the essence of mind.)[25] The underlying notion of entering and reemerging is by no means exclusive to Ch'an; the ideal of a return to the world after a period of world-transcendence is a widely attested trope in Chinese Mahāyāna literature, found even in commentaries to Pure Land scriptures.[26]

145c20 Inherent transcendence and subtlety is not something that can be grasped or rejected, cultivated or studied. It is not something that was originally nonexistent but now exists, nor is it something that was originally extant but is now nonexistent. In the end there is not a single dharma that arises or passes away. It is not subsumed within the three realms, nor is it altered by the [turning of the] six destinies. It is not affected by ignorance or wisdom, nor is it altered by truth or falsehood. It is uniform and universal, pervading all. In sum, it is the numinous abode of the responsive transformations of the single great dharma-realm. Those who are ignorant of it will practice in vain for aeons on end, while those who understand it find stillness and quiescence in their present existence.

The deluded who harbor desires do not discern this transcendence. The deluded who think there is something to be accomplished do not discern this subtlety. Wicked views flourish within those who do not discern subtlety, and defilements swirl about those who do not discern transcendence. With defilements swirling about without, the outer world is thrown into disarray by Māra. With wicked views flourishing within, the inner world is confounded by perverted views. Since the inner and the outer are born thus from conditions, the essential principle of the True One remains hidden. One who is confused with regard to transcendence and tainted by delusion is called an ordinary person. One who is tainted by confusion but has transcended delusion is called a follower of the two vehicles. One who has penetrated the transcendence of original nature is called a bodhisattva. One who thoroughly comprehends, perceives, and understands that there is no difference between the three vehicles is called a true buddha for whom everything is equal and the same. Thus the supreme principle is recondite and profound. It cannot be revealed through words or speech, nor can it be known through its attributes.

To want to denote its attributes is to be ignorant concerning its lack of attributes. To want to describe it in speech is to be ignorant concerning its ineffability. And if you refrain from speech and denotation, it is difficult to penetrate its meaning. Therefore, the mysterious way is transcendent and subtle, and the supreme principle is difficult to reveal.

It is not subsumed within the three realms, nor is it altered by the [turning of the] six destinies 非三界所攝、非六趣所變: Cf. Seng-chao's *Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun*: "Its life is not subsumed within the six destinies, and its essence cannot be altered by force" 六趣不能攝其生、力負無以化其體.[27] The term translated as "six destinies" (*liu-ch'ü* 六趣, interchangeable with *liu-tao* 六道) refers to the six planes of sentient existence (see commentary to section 144b3).

In sum, it is the numinous abode of the responsive transformations of the single great dharma-realm 總爲一大法界應化之靈宅: The

term "*ling-chai*" 靈宅 has a technical meaning in Taoism, where it can refer to the face, home to the spirit. A commentary to the *Huang-t'ing ching* says: "The face is the abode of the spirit and is also called the 'great abode.' Because it is the residence of the eyebrows, eyes, and mouth, it is called an 'abode'" 面爲靈宅、一[read 亦]名大宅。以眉目口之所居、故曰宅.[28] Although the *Treasure Store Treatise* does not appear to use the term to mean anything like "face," one cannot exclude the possibility that the author is intentionally expropriating Taoist terminology.

Ordinary person (*fan-fu* 凡夫): *Fan-fu,* a common translation for Sanskrit *bāla* or *pṛthagjana,* refers to those who are not yet firmly established on the path. In the third and final chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise,* the term is dialectically opposed to "sage" (*sheng* 聖).

Two vehicles (*erh-sheng* 二乘): The two vehicles are those of the auditors (Sk. *śrāvaka*) and self-enlightened buddhas (Sk. *pratyekabuddha*), which collectively compose the Hīnayāna.

Supreme principle (*chih-li* 至理): This term is found in the "Correspondence with Liu I-min" included in the *Chao lun* ("The supreme principle is empty and occult" 至理虛玄)[29] as well as in the writings of Chih Tun (314–366),[30] but, as Urs App points out, the compound is actually quite old, predating Buddhist materials (App 1995b:82 n. 61). This term, which was in common use by the seventh century, would appear to accentuate the tendency in Buddhist writings to transform the meaning of *li* from a principle underlying but immanent *within* the natural realm to an absolute (*tathatā*) that stands apart from it.[31]

146a6 **That which is called transcendent is in essence neither one with things nor separate 離 from them. It is like a bright mirror reflecting a myriad images: the mirror is not one with the reflections, nor is it in essence separate from them. Or again, it is like space, which suffuses all things without being tainted. The five colors cannot sully it, the five tones cannot disturb it, the myriad things cannot constrain it, and the dense array [of manifest forms] cannot muddle it. Therefore, it is called transcendent.**

That which is called subtle is in essence ethereal and devoid of shape, form, and attributes. It functions in response to things and assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance is never observed. It garners a hundred skills, yet its labors are never revealed. Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard. Yet it possesses

a myriad virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. It is neither eternal nor transient, neither separate from things nor dispersed within them, and thus it is called subtle.

Therefore, the two words "transcendent" and "subtle" encompass the essentials of the Way. Because it leaves no traces in the six senses, it is called transcendent. Because its myriad functions are all devoid of a self, it is called subtle. But subtlety is precisely transcendence, and transcendence is precisely subtlety. It is only in respect to whether it is [considered from the perspective of its unmanifest] source or its manifest phenomena that we use these two terms. In essence they are one.

Those who cultivate the Way all [strive to] eradicate the defilements and seek bodhi. They abandon the small vehicle and strive after Great Functioning. Yet such matters have no place within the wondrous principle. In essence transcendence is fundamentally free of any defilement to eradicate, free of any small vehicle to be abandoned. In essence subtlety is free of any bodhi to be sought, free of any Great Functioning for which to strive. Why so? Because there is not a single dharma to which to respond. Therefore, the sage does not eradicate delusion, nor does he realize truth. This can be called the naturalness of the myriad functions.

Look as you may, it goes unseen; listen as you may, it goes unheard 視之不可見、聽之不可聞: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 14: "Looking at it, it goes unseen; it is called evanescent. Listening to it, it goes unheard; it is called rarefied" 視之不見名曰夷。聽之不聞名曰希.[32]

Six senses (*liu-ju* 六入): This is a technical Buddhist term (Sk. *ṣaḍāyatana*) used to denote the six sense organs and their corresponding sense-fields.

Great Functioning (*ta-yung* 大用): This term is attested in a variety of early Chinese works, including the *Shih chi* and chapter 4 of the *Chuang-tzu*. In the latter, Carpenter Shih decides against chopping down a giant oak, which is too gnarled and twisted to be of use for timber. After complaining that the tree is useless (*wu suo k'o yung* 無所可用), the tree appears to him in a dream and says: "I've been trying a long time to be of no use, and though I almost died, I've finally got it. This is of great use 大用 to me. If I had been of some use, would I ever have grown this large?"[33]

Ta-yung came to be used as a rhetorical intensification of the *yung* of *t'i-yung*, or "essence and function." Where "essence" referred to the invisible and ineffable Tao itself, "function" referred to the activity by which it is known. But *ta-yung*, as the activity of the Tao, "acts

without acting" and "functions without functioning." In Buddhist texts the term was adopted to refer to the powers of skillful means at the disposal of a buddha or bodhisattva. But the term retained its earlier nuances: it accentuated the impersonal and spontaneous quality of a buddha's skillful means. See, for example, the explanation given in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*: "Number four [in a list of five cultivations] is the study of great skillful means. The skillful means are precisely the boundless Great Functioning of a tathāgata's excellent expedient devices that are without contrivance. [A tathāgata], abiding in the *śūraṃgama*[*samādhi*], displays the powers of various inconceivable skillful techniques, which appear to all beings like the wind passing through the empty sky."[34] I showed in Chapter 2 of this study that Chih-i understood a buddha's *upāya* or "Great Functioning" as a natural, spontaneous, and unpremeditated response (*ying* 應) to a set of instigating stimuli (*kan* 感). The notion of *ta-yung*, with its Indian and Chinese overlays, is exploited in later Ch'an materials, where it functions simultaneously as an epithet for the absolute and as a technical term denoting the liberative powers of skillful means possessed by the sages. The *Pi-yen lu*, for example, states: "People often fall into thinking and conceptual consciousness. But it is already in front of you, before the onset of words and language. If you can grasp it, Great Functioning will appear right before you; it can be seen naturally."[35] The Great Functioning that appears before you is at one and the same time the *nirmāṇakāya* buddha responding to the stimulus of the ardent practitioner and the Tao or truth made manifest.

146a22 **In seeking the dharma there is nothing to be sought. Therefore, one should not harbor desire for the nameless unwrought substance. This can be called "wondrous awakening."**

Transcendence and subtlety cannot be apprehended by deluded consciousness or known by false understanding. What is deluded consciousness? It is the six consciousnesses [associated with each of the six senses]. What is false understanding? It is dualistic understanding. In essence truth is singular, and thus it cannot be known by dualistic understanding. In essence there are no things, and thus it cannot be apprehended by the six sense-consciousnesses. There is not a single dharma that comes from without or a single dharma that emerges from within. Moreover, there is no [conditioned] birth through the coming together of minuscule dharmas. This is what is known as Great Clarity; this is what is known as the true seminal essence. It utterly transcends all perception and thus cannot be measured by thought. It utterly transcends all reckoning and thus cannot be

captured in words. This is why Vimalakīrti remained silent and the Tathāgata is quiescent and still. Although many different [Buddhist] vehicles are expounded, they are all merely skillful means to open the way to understanding so that one may enter the knowledge and vision of the buddhas.

The nameless unwrought substance 無名之朴: See my commentary to section 144b11.

Wondrous awakening (*miao-chüeh* 妙覺): This term had some currency in Chinese Buddhism, where it referred to the full enlightenment of a buddha. In T'ien-t'ai scholastic materials it assumed a somewhat more technical sense, referring to one of the highest stages on the path—the stage of neither birth nor no-birth—wherein all the defilements have been eradicated.[36]

Dualistic understanding (*erh-chih* 二智): Context suggests that the phrase *erh-chih* be understood as referring to dualistic modes of understanding, that is, understanding that entails both cognition of an object and an object to be cognized. Truth, which is nondual, is not accessible to this mode of apprehension.

This is not, however, the usual meaning of *erh-chih*. In Buddhist texts *erh-chih* typically refers to "two *kinds* of wisdom" (*erh chung chih* 二種智), of which there are various enumerations. Each pairing is ultimately derived from a subset of related dichotomies: the wisdom of the ultimate versus the wisdom of the conventional, the wisdom of a buddha versus the wisdom of the common person, the wisdom of the universal versus the wisdom of the particular, and so on.[37] It is not clear which, if any, of these schemes may have been familiar to the author of the treatise. In any case, it is possible to read this passage as castigating all such forms of wisdom as inadequate.

Great Clarity (*t'ai-ch'ing* 太清): See the discussion in my commentary to chapter 1, section 145b23. Insofar as "Great Clarity" was commonly used to refer to a divine abode populated by Taoist deities and immortals, this passage may involve a polemic attempt to appropriate and "buddhify" the term through redefinition. The passage might then be understood: "This is the true meaning of the term 'Great Clarity.'"

True seminal essence (*chen-ching* 眞精): Although not well attested in Buddhist sources, this term is found in the apocryphal *Śūraṃgama-*

sūtra: "All the physical and mental conditions, all mental constructs, and all conditioned dharmas are mere manifestations brought forth by mind. Your body and mind are but the wondrous and luminous true seminal essence; they are things manifest within the wondrous mind."[38] And later in the same text: "Therefore your present vision of me as well as [your vision of] yourself and the ten types of sentient beings in the world are but a disease of vision. One whose vision is free of disease views the true seminal essence. For one whose nature is free of disease, there is no such designation as 'vision.'"[39] The *Treasure Store Treatise* may be drawing on the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, or the two texts may be drawing on a common source; both agree that the vision of the true essence is, properly speaking, no vision at all.

Vimalakīrti remains silent 維摩默然: This refers to the famous silence of Vimalakīrti in response to Mañjuśrī's request to expound the doctrine of the entry into nonduality.[40] The phrase *ju-lai chi-mo* 如來寂寞 (the Tathāgata is quiescent and still) again invokes the image of the Buddha qua Yellow Emperor, sitting quietly, doing nothing, yet leaving nothing undone.

146b2 **[True] knowledge consists in knowing transcendence, and vision consists in perceiving the subtle. Therefore, the scripture says: "Perceiving the subtle is called buddha; knowing transcendence is called dharma." In knowing transcendence, one avoids all contact with defilement. In perceiving the subtle, one avoids all congress with delusion. In the absence of delusion, the principle of the True One is made manifest. In the absence of defilement, [one's innate] radiance naturally shines forth.**

As for the import of transcendence and subtlety, they are neither one nor two, nor can they be revealed through words or explanations. You must realize it with a profound mind, and then it shines forth right before you. In confronting objects maintain no-mind, in encountering conditions stay unmoved, and do not neglect the Way of transcendence and subtlety. [Otherwise] consciousness rushes about, the mouth speaks, mind is obstructed, and principle contravened. Thus we can say: without regard to day or night, without regard to silence or commotion, remain intently focused without wavering, and all will come into perfect accord. Those who foolishly believe there is something to be grasped or rejected, something to be cultivated or attained, will not enter into true reality. To disregard the import of transcendence and subtlety is to desecrate the dharma of the Great Way.

Therefore, the scripture says: "Perceiving the subtle is called buddha; knowing transcendence is called dharma" 故經云：見微名

爲佛、知離名爲法: Kamata suggests that this quotation must be from a lost apocryphal scripture that also showed Taoist influence (1965: 385). If so, the *li-wei* distinction must predate the *Treasure Store Treatise.* See the introductory comments to this chapter.

> 146b12 **Since truth is not something to be sought, it is not attained from without. Since reality is not something to be cultivated, it is not realized within. Only when one is free of deluded thought is the Way of transcendence and subtlety revealed. Transcendence is void and subtlety empty. The empty and the void are quiescent and still, and therefore they are called transcendent and subtle.**
>
> **The reason the sage is free of deluded thought is that he has penetrated transcendence; the reason he is possessed of rare and wonderful functions is that he fully apprehends subtlety. Being subtle, he is without mind, and being transcendent, he is without body. When body and mind are both gone, numinous wisdom alone remains. When the sphere of existence and nonexistence is destroyed, and the abode of subject and object is obliterated, there is only the naturalness of the dharma-realm radiating resplendent functions, yet without any coming into being. Therefore, the sage transforms himself [for the benefit of living beings] while abiding in nonaction, practices the wordless teaching, comes into resonant accord with the arcane principle, is quiescent and still and free of a self. In this way [the sage] fully embraces the great schemata and envelops and enters into the myriad things. Like empty space he pervades everywhere[41] and fills everything.**

Only when one is free of deluded thought is the Way of transcendence and subtlety revealed 但無妄想者、即離微之道顯: This is a concise statement of the very heart of early Ch'an doctrine. In particular, the advocacy of *li nien* (transcending thought) and *li wang-hsiang* (transcending deluded thought) came to be closely associated with "Northern Ch'an." (While the former term is absent in the *Treasure Store Treatise,* the latter is found in chapter 3, 149b20.) The Southern School proselytizer Shen-hui 神會 (684–758) criticized such rhetoric as "gradualist" and advocated instead the doctrine of *wu-nien* 無念 (no-thought).

The term "*wu-nien*" predates T'ang Ch'an writings. It is found, for example, in a number of translated scriptures including the *Vimalakīrti* (Jan 1989). But following its deployment in the *Platform Sūtra, wu-nien* came to be identified with the subitist ideology of the Southern School. Thus "no-thought," as taught by Hui-neng, Shen-hui, and their descendants, did not refer to the eradication or elimination of thought per se but rather to the sudden realization of the emptiness of all conceptualization.

In any case, while the terminology of the *Treasure Store Treatise* suggests that it was composed in an intellectual milieu close to that of early Ch'an, there is no evidence that the author was influenced by, or even aware of, the "north-south" controversy.

Transcendence is void and subtlety empty 離者虛也、微者冲也: The locus classicus for this use of *ch'ung* 冲 is *Tao-te ching* 4: "The way is empty yet use will not drain it" 道冲而用之或不盈 (trans. Lau 1963: 60). This is a problematic passage, and Lau's translation relies on an emendation (盈 to 窮). In the later commentarial tradition, *ch'ung* is generally understood as equivalent to *hsü* 虛 (empty), although, as I discussed in Chapter 1, certain Twofold Mystery authors, including Li Jung and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, understood it to mean "middle" (*chung* 中), which they then associated with *chung-kuan* 中觀, or the "middle-view." The connection between *wei* and *ch'ung* may be drawn from the *Tao-te ching*, which alternatively associates *wei* with *yung* and *yung* with *ch'ung*.

Therefore, the sage transforms himself [for the benefit of living beings] while abiding in nonaction, [and] practices the wordless teaching 故聖人處無爲而化、行不言之教: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 2: "Therefore, the sage abides in the affairs of nonaction and practices the wordless teaching" 是以聖人處無爲之事、行不言之教.

146b22 **Confused beings posit a subject where there is no subject, giving rise to the fallacy of an inner self. When the fallacy of selfhood arises within, one cannot penetrate the principle of the sages. When the principle of the sages is not penetrated, one posits external objects. When external objects are posited, obstructions arise both within and without. When internal and external obstructions arise, one cannot penetrate the principle of things. All this flows forth from confusion, confounding the clear radiance.**[42] **The myriad schemata sink into oblivion, the doctrine of the True One is lost in confusion, various competing views vie for contention, and one drifts aimlessly [through life and death]. Therefore, I have composed this treatise on transcendence and subtlety to illuminate the recondite mystery. The student who ponders it deeply will come to know what is vacuous and what is real.**

Visible things are like shadows, audible things like echoes. Only through shadows and echoes can things be signified, yet this never succeeds in capturing reality. Therefore, the finger is not the moon, and words are not the Way. When the Way is attained, words are forgotten,

[just as] the finger is forgotten as soon as the moon is seen. Therefore, those who are ignorant of transcendence are evil demons, lusting after all manner of filth, gleefully grasping at birth and death. Those who are ignorant of subtlety are heretics, indiscriminately analyzing things, foolishly giving rise to all sorts of views.

The root of all views lies in the failure to go beyond existence and nonexistence. What is meant by existence? It refers to the misconception that there is something to be done. What is meant by nonexistence? It refers to the apprehension that there is nothing to be attained. Thus from the two views of existence and nonexistence arise all variety of views. Having arisen [dependent on false premises], these views are depraved and fallacious and accordingly are designated "heterodox."

The source of life and death is what is known as preserving and perishing. When the body is preserved, there is life, and when it perishes, there is extinction. Those willfully attached to deluded thought, those grasping at external objects while completely entrenched in the view that the body [is the self], those longing to be reborn in some exalted realm where one will reap marvelous rewards—such people can be considered evil demons. But one who fully comprehends transcendence is not attached to anything, is untainted by desire, and has passed over the realm of evil demons. One who fully comprehends subtlety is quiescent and still, free of deluded thought. This is to pass over the various depraved views of the heretics. Therefore, the scripture says: "Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence constitutes inherent nature." Therefore, [to know] subtlety is to be free of views; [to know] transcendence is to be free of attachment. To be free of both views and attachment is the joy of quiescence and extinction.

Principle of the sages (*sheng-li* 聖理) and **principle of things** (*wu-li* 物理): The former term is rare but not unknown in Buddhist sources; it appears in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, for example, where it is opposed to *jen-li* 人理, "the principle of the common person."[43] Nakamura defines the "principle of things" (or "mundane principle") as "the principles governing the human realm," citing Chan-jan's (711–782) usage in the *Shih pu-erh men* 十不二門.[44] One might then read these T'ien-t'ai materials as establishing a contrast between the principles governing the ultimate versus those governing the mundane, although the relevance of these sources to the passage at hand is unclear.

The view that the body [is the self] (*shen-chien* 身見): As a technical Buddhist equivalent for Sanskrit *satkāyadṛṣṭi* (sometimes rendered *yu-shen-chien* 有身見), this compound denotes the mistaken belief in a substantial ego or self that is identified with the body. It is one of a traditional list of five wrong views (Sk. *pañca-dṛṣṭayah*, MZ 2.1169c).

Longing to be reborn in some exalted realm where one will reap marvelous rewards 愛彼未來殊勝生處、受妙果報: This may well be an explicit criticism of the desire for future birth in the Pure Land.[45] The third chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise* contains an extended critique of those who place stock in visions acquired through *nien-fo* practice (149a21–b16).

Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence constitutes inherent nature 微妙甚深、離自性也: While I am unable to locate the origin of this citation, it is likely an intentional misreading. If the quote is indeed culled from a Buddhist sūtra, *wei-miao* 微妙 is probably a compound in the original (meaning "exquisite" or "marvelous," cf. *Treasure Store Treatise* 144c11–12, 148b25), and the *li tzu-hsing* is likely the semantic equivalent of *wu tzu-hsing*, the absence of self-nature (Sk. *niḥsvabhāva*).[46] Thus the fragment in isolation would be read: "exquisite, profound, and devoid of inherent nature."

> 146c13 **What is suffering? When there is no clear comprehension of subtlety, there is inward conceptualization. When there is no clear comprehension of transcendence, there is outward dependence. Outward dependence leads to greed, and inward conceptualization leads to [karmic] conditioning. When conditioning and greed arise, one is enslaved in the realm of evil demons. Day and night succeed each other without a moment's rest, as one is consumed in worldly toil. Therefore, it is called suffering.**
>
> **What is joy? With the clear comprehension of subtlety, there is no inward conceptualization. With the clear comprehension of transcendence, there is no outward dependence. In the absence of outward dependence, there is no greed, and in the absence of inward conceptualization, there is no conditioning. In the absence of conditioning, one is no longer bound by things, and there is no servitude to worldly toil. Clear, quiescent, and unconstrained, one's innate nature is liberated. Therefore, it is called joy.**
>
> **Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal and employ the hidden arts.**
>
> **Moreover, transcendence is empty and subtlety is extant. Being empty, it is devoid of attributes, but being extant, it has shape and extension. Because it is neither extant nor empty, it is the essential principle of the myriad things. Because it is neither empty nor extant, it is the mother of the myriad things. It emerges from nowhere, enters no place, and fully envelops[47] the myriad existing things, yet it is not manifest. There are a myriad aspects to its responsive transformations,**

> **yet there is no master. Just as [Vimalakīrti's] small room is vast and accommodating, and numerous powers lie in a single instant of thought, this is not something the mind can fathom or something the intellect can comprehend. It can be called abiding in the power of inconceivable liberation. What is the meaning of inconceivable? It means essential transcendence and subtlety. And what is the meaning of liberation? It refers to the absence of constraints.**
>
> **Transcendence is the dharma, subtlety is the buddha, and the harmonious union of the two without duality is called the *saṃgha*. Therefore, the three names share a single essence, and this single essence has three names. When fused together with no distinction among them, they return to that which is originally nameless.**

Transcendence is the principle, and subtlety is esoteric. What is the meaning of principle? [It means] to be immanent in all things. What is the meaning of esoteric? [It means] to reveal and employ the hidden arts 離者理也、微者密也。何謂爲理、不離一切物。何謂爲密、顯用藏術: This passage involves a range of punning and word play that is difficult to render in translation. The Chinese terms for "transcendent" (*li* 離) and "principle" (*li* 理) were rhymes in Late Middle Chinese,[48] as were the terms for "things" (*wu* 物) and "arts" (*shu* 術),[49] giving the entire parallel structure a satisfying lilt. Moreover, transcendence is identified with principle, which in turn is defined as that which is immanent (literally "not transcendent," *pu li* 不離). Similarly, subtlety is identified with esoteric (*mi* 密), which in turn is defined as that which "reveals" (*hsien* 顯) the hidden arts, but the terms "reveal" and "esoteric"—*hsien* and *mi*—are opposites as well. In other words, transcendence and subtlety are defined in terms of their identity with their opposites. The apparent paradox is resolved by insisting that the subtle and the transcendent share a single essence such that no ultimate distinction holds between them.

There are a myriad aspects to its responsive transformations, yet there is no master 應化萬端、而不爲主: The term "responsive transformations" (*ying-hua* 應化; see also 145c24) refers to the response-bodies of a buddha or sage (see the discussion in Chapter 2 of this study).[50]

Just as [Vimalakīrti's] small room is vast and accommodating, and numerous powers lie in a single instant of thought 是以小室寬容、一念多通: The reference to the "small room" alludes to the "miracle of

the thrones" in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*. Mañjuśrī arrives at Vimalakīrti's small unfurnished room with a large assembly in tow. After the initial dialogue between Mañjuśrī and his host, Śāriputra worries about the inadequate seating arrangements. Vimalakīrti chides Śāriputra for the pettiness of his concerns and proceeds to summon thirty-two thousand glorious lion thrones from the Merudhvajā universe in order to seat his guests. Vimalakīrti's small room effortlessly accommodates both the congregation and their thrones. After the entire congregation is seated, Śāriputra comments: "Householder [Vimalakīrti], it is truly unprecedented that this small room should be able to accommodate all these high and broad thrones, without creating any hindrance or obstacle in the city of Vaiśālī" 居士、未曾有也如是小室乃容受此高廣之座、於毘耶離城無所妨礙.[51]

The numerous powers ascribed to a "single instant of thought" or single moment of reflection (*i-nien to-t'ung* 一念多通) may refer to any one of a number of Buddhist doctrines; the phrase is too laconic to allow an identification with any particular philosophical or meditative tradition.[52] However, the ninth vow of the *Wu-liang-shou ching* 無量壽經 (*Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*) does come to mind: "If I should attain buddhahood, and the people and gods in my realm do not obtain spiritual powers such that they are able to cross over a hundred thousand million *nayuta*s of buddha-lands in the interval of a single thought 一念, then may I not attain full awakening."[53] Note also the T'ien-t'ai doctrine of the "trischiliocosm in a single moment of thought" 一念三千.[54]

Transcendence is the dharma, subtlety is the buddha, and the harmonious union of the two without duality is called the *saṃgha* 離者法也、微者佛也、和合不二名爲僧也: The antecedent for this identification of the transcendent with the dharma and the subtle with the buddha would seem to be the unidentified scripture quoted above (146c3–4; see my commentary to section 146b22).

147a1 Moreover, transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is functioning. Being accommodating, it admits impurity, and in its functioning it is without peer. Being without peer, its wondrous transformations continue unabated. As it admits impurity, manifold existence is able to abide therein.

Moreover, that which has no eyes and ears is called transcendent; that which can see and hear is called subtle. That which is free of self and contrivance is called transcendent; that which possesses wisdom

and functions is called subtle. That which is without mind and without thought is called transcendent; that which permeates and penetrates is called subtle.

Moreover, transcendence is nirvāṇa, and subtlety is *prajñā*. With *prajñā* there arise multifarious great functions. With nirvāṇa there is quiescence and extinction without residue. Being without residue, the defilements are forever exhausted. With great functions there is no end to the transformations of the sage. Should a person fail to penetrate transcendence and subtlety, then even though he might arduously practice austerities far removed from the defiled world, and even though he might cut off greed, anger, and delusion, and perfect self-control and patience continuously for immeasurable aeons, in the end he will not enter true reality. Why so? It is because all such [endeavors] are based on perfecting one's practice in the belief that there is something to be attained. This does not differ from the various inverted, illusory, and heretical views. But should there be one who fully comprehends transcendence and subtlety, then even when he approaches the pervasions of deluded thought and courses among defilement, he nevertheless constantly maintains awareness of the purport of transcendence and subtlety. It will not be long before such a one enters into the true reality of the unsurpassed Way. Why is this so? It is because he clearly comprehends the foundation of correct views.

Moreover, when we speak of transcendence, it is in respect to the six senses. When we speak of subtlety, it is in respect to the six consciousnesses. If the six are fused into one, and there is quiescence and nothingness, then it [cannot be explained in terms of] five or four or three, or of nine or eight or seven. It is only that the sage, responding appropriately to the occasion, establishes different teachings tailored to specific impediments. Ultimately, principle is free of names and words. It is like empty space, which transcends [notions of] multiplicity and nonmultiplicity and transcends [notions of] innate and noninnate. It is neither singular nor differentiated; it does not belong to the objective realm, nor is it apart from it. It cannot be explained in speech, for it goes beyond language and beyond the deliberations of mind. It neither comes nor goes, neither emerges nor enters.

Moreover, transcendence is accommodating, and subtlety is functioning. Being accommodating, it admits impurity, and in its functioning it is without peer 又離者容也、微者用也。容故含垢、用故無侶: Again, stylistic considerations seem to have determined the choice of terminology. In Late Middle Chinese the terms for "accommodating" (*jung* or *yung* 容) and "active" (*yung* 用) were near homophones.[55]

Without residue (*wu-yü* 無餘): See my commentary to chapter 1, section 144a18.

Austerities (*t'ou-t'o* 頭陀, Sk. *dhūta*): The *dhūta* are a group of relatively severe austerities sometimes practiced by Buddhist monks. There are various lists of twelve, which typically include such disciplines as refraining from lying down, dwelling only in cemeteries, limiting intake of food, and so on (MZ 4.3758). In early medieval China such ascetic practices were closely associated with the practice of *ch'an*; the term "*ch'an-shih*" 禪師, or "dhyāna specialist," originally denoted a monk who had cultivated great personal charisma and supernormal powers through mastery of such austerities.

Even when he approaches the pervasions of deluded thought and courses among defilement, he nevertheless constantly maintains awareness of the purport of transcendence and subtlety 雖近有妄想習氣及現行煩惱、然數數覺知離微之義: The phrase "pervasions of deluded thought" (*wang-hsiang hsi-ch'i* 妄想習氣), found in the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* (where it translates Sk. *vikalpa-vāsanā*),[56] is ubiquitous in works associated with Northern Ch'an. The phrase is found repeatedly, for example, in the *Tun-wu ta-sheng cheng-li chüeh* 頓悟大乘正理決 (True Principle of the Great Vehicle of Sudden Awakening) by Mo-ho-yen 摩訶衍.[57] The central theme of this polemical work, repeated ad nauseam, is that buddhahood lies precisely in "transcending the pervasions of deluded thought" 離一切妄想習氣 (P.4646: 129a5 and passim) or, alternatively, "transcending the pervasions of conceptualization" 離心想習氣 (P.4646: 130b2 and passim). Mo-ho-yen impugns all but the simple awareness of thoughts as they arise.[58] This practice of constant awareness (*chüeh* 覺) is characteristic of many of the teachers associated with Northern Ch'an, and the reference to "constant awareness of the meaning of transcendence and subtlety" is further evidence of the intellectual affinity of the Northern School and the *Treasure Store Treatise.*

147a20 **As for the scriptures and treatises, they all approach the passions of the unenlightened in order to destroy their very foundations. The various skillful means do not abide within manifest phenomena.[59] And not abiding in manifest phenomena, verbal explanations are entirely unnecessary, including those pertaining to transcendence and subtlety.[60] Therefore, the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is appropriate. Their purport is difficult to comprehend." Although their teachings comprise many different vehicles,[61] they are all expedient and skillful means; they are teachings to aid one along the Way.[62] Thus they do not constitute final liberation**

or nirvāṇa. It is as if[63] **a person were to draw various colored images**[64] **in empty space or make**[65] **various sounds. The attributes of empty space would not thereby be altered, nor would space undergo any change or alteration.**[66] **Therefore, know that the same is true of the transformation-bodies of all the Buddhas and of all the teachings they expound. At the apex of reality, there is neither identity nor difference. Therefore, heaven and earth encompass**[67] **the transcendent, and empty space encompasses**[68] **the subtle; the activity of the myriad things brings change and transformation without intent.**

This section along with the following two sections (147a20–147b20) are quoted in full in Yen-shou's *Tsung-ching lu.*[69] Yen-shou duly notes the source of the quotation as "The Chapter on Transcendence and Subtlety from the *Treasure Store Treatise*" 寶藏論離微品云. The variants, for the most part of little consequence, are listed in the notes.

Therefore, the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is appropriate. Their purport is difficult to comprehend" 故經云：隨宜説法、意趣難解: This comes from the second chapter of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra.*[70] The same quotation is found in the *Chen-yen yao-chüeh* 眞言要决 , a Buddhist text recovered from Tun-huang that, like the *Treasure Store Treatise,* shows considerable Taoist influence.[71]

Teachings to aid one along the Way (*chu-tao-chih-fa* 助道之法): *Chu-tao-fa* is a common translation for Sanskrit *bodhipakṣyadharma*—the thirty-seven auxiliaries of enlightenment—found, among other places, in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra.*[72]

Apex of reality (*shih-chi* 實際): This term is used to translate Sanskrit *koṭi* or *bhūtakoṭi* in many of the sūtras known by the author of the treatise, including the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Vimalakīrti.* It is commonly glossed as "true suchness" (*chen-ju* 眞如), "the true mark of all dharmas" (*chu-fa shih-hsiang* 諸法實相), *śūnyatā, bhūtatathatā,* and so on (Nakamura 1981:597c). More significant, it is an important term in the apocryphal *Vajrasamādhi,* the fifth chapter of which is titled "Approaching the Apex of Reality" (*Ju shih-chi p'in* 入實際品).[73] The *Vajrasamādhi* equates the apex of reality with the *tathāgatagarbha,* and according to Wŏnhyo's exegesis, the apex of reality is the very essence (*t'i* 體) of this sūtra, while the destruction of obstacles is the function (*yung* 用).[74]

In the context of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, the term "*shih-chi*" is virtually synonymous with the terms "*chen-chi*" (apex of truth) and "*pen-chi*" 本際 (point of genesis). A full discussion of the latter term will be found at the beginning of the following chapter.

> 147a29 **In the midst of spirit lies knowledge, and in the midst of knowledge lies power. There are five kinds of power and three kinds of knowledge. And what are the five powers?[75] The first is the "power of the Way," the second "spiritual power," the third "dependent power," the fourth "recompense power," and the fifth "demonic power." And what is demonic power?[76] To understand marvels such as the possession of a human body by a fox or by the specters of trees and rocks—this is demonic power.[77] What is recompense power? To possess divine foreknowledge of the movements of heaven, to know, while still in limbo, one's future birth, and to know the movements[78] of spirits and dragons—this is[79] recompense power. What is dependent power? To know things in accord with the dharma, to act in consonance with the body, to travel to and fro by means of the magic-vehicle talisman, and to have the power of numinous transformation by ingesting elixirs—this is dependent power.[80] What is spiritual power? To illuminate things with a still mind, to retain the memory[81] of one's former lives, and to possess all the other discernments that flow from the power of *samādhi*—this is[82] spiritual power. What is the power of the Way? To respond to things with no-mind, to transmute along with manifold existence, to be masterless like the reflection of the moon on the water, like the flowers seen in the empty sky, or the images[83] reflected [in a mirror]—this is[84] the power of the Way.**

Five powers (*wu-t'ung* 五通): The list enumerated here departs substantially from standard Buddhist formulations of the five supernatural powers (Sk. *pañca-abhijñā*) associated with accomplishment in *dhyāna*.[85] Both Morohashi (1.501b) and Mochizuki (2.1261) reproduce the more traditional list but then go on to cite the enumeration found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Morohashi mentions no source at all for the list found here, while Mochizuki cites only fascicle 15 of the *Tsung-ching lu*, but as mentioned above, the *Tsung-ching lu* passage is a quotation attributed to the *Treasure Store Treatise*. It would appear that this enumeration is yet another innovation on the part of this text, especially since the "three kinds of knowledge" that appear in the next section are also not attested elsewhere.

In brief, the five powers of the *Treasure Store Treatise* can be understood as a means of categorizing and ranking a host of paranormal powers known to the Chinese. "Demonic power" refers to those abili-

ties generally associated with popular shamanism and exorcism, while "recompense" and "dependent" powers include spiritual accomplishments associated with Taoist practices. The fourth power, "spiritual power," includes the traditional list of Buddhist *abhijñā*, and the paramount "power of the Way" refers to the attainments of the realized sage.

Recompense power (*pao-t'ung* 報通): These powers are concerned with knowledge of future events, including the movements of the heavens and dragons as well as knowledge of future birth.

Dependent power (*i-t'ung* 依通): That is, powers dependent on external agents that include not only charms and talismans (*fu* 符) and herbal elixirs (*yao* 藥), but also the Buddhist teachings and the physical body.

Spiritual power (*shen-t'ung* 神通): This term is a common translation for Sanskrit *abhijñā*—the powers associated with exalted states of trance in Buddhist sources. The ability to recollect one's previous lives (Sk. *pūrvanivāsa-anusmṛti*), one of the traditional five *abhijñā*, is included here.

147b9 **What are the three knowledges? The first is called "true knowledge," the second "inner knowledge," and the third "outer knowledge." What is outer knowledge? To be discerning[86] with respect to the sense faculties, to apprehend the sensory realm clearly, and to be widely[87] versed in worldly matters both ancient and modern—this is[88] outer knowledge. What is inner knowledge? To awaken oneself from ignorance and eliminate[89] the defilements so that the mind is quiescent and still, and to extinguish existence without residue[90]—this is[91] inner knowledge. What is true knowledge? To fully comprehend nothingness and original quiescence, to penetrate the boundless [which is] the nonduality[92] of purity and pollution—this is called true knowledge. Therefore,[93] both true knowledge and the power of the Way cannot be designated, and all else is false and counterfeit. The counterfeit is precisely[94] what is not true, and the false is precisely[95] what is not correct. The deluded and unsettled mind creates confusion with regard to one's essential nature.[96] Therefore, deeply comprehend transcendence and subtlety, and penetrate all existence. Innate and original truth issues from all varieties of living beings.**

Knowledge[97] can be either false or correct, and power can be either true or counterfeit. If one lacks the seminal brilliance of the dharma-eye, it is difficult to distinguish[98] between them. Thus the mundane

world places considerable faith in what is false and counterfeit, and places little faith in what is correct and true. They abandon the practice of the great teaching and engage [instead] in the small vehicle. Therefore, know that the wondrous principle is difficult to reveal.

The three knowledges (*san-chih* 三智): Like the list of five powers above, this enumeration differs markedly from other sets of "three knowledges" known from Buddhist sources.[99]

Dharma-eye (*fa-yen* 法眼): This is a common translation for Sanskrit *dharma-cakṣus*—a faculty that, according to the sūtras, is frequently acquired by large numbers of living beings upon hearing a discourse by the Buddha. The "attainment of the purity of the dharma-eye" is a stock formula seen repeatedly, for example, in the *Vimalakīrti.* In chapter 1 of that sūtra, following the Buddha's revelation of the purity of his buddha-field, one reads: "Thereupon thirty-two thousand gods and people who aspired to the *śrāvaka* vehicle understood that conditioned dharmas are all impermanent and were thus freed from defilement, liberated from impurity, and attained the purity of the dharma-eye."[100] The same expression is also found in the *Lotus Sūtra*: "When the Buddha preached this chapter on the original deeds of King Wonderfully Adorned, eighty-four thousand people were freed from defilement, liberated from impurity, and attained the purity of the dharma-eye with respect to all dharmas."[101]

The notion of the dharma-eye assumed particular significance in Ch'an-related materials, as it was identified with the buddha-mind itself, transmitted directly from master to disciple.[102] The Ch'an understanding of the term may well have been influenced by the stock formula illustrated above, but Indian Buddhist materials do not equate the acquisition of the dharma-eye with full buddhahood. On the contrary, it is considered merely the third in a list of five "faculties of vision" associated with ascending levels of spiritual insight. The "five eye-faculties" are mentioned, although not explicitly enumerated, in the *Vimalakīrti.*[103] A full enumeration is found, however, in the *Wu-liang-shou ching*: "The physical eye is clear and discerning, and discriminates everything without exception; the divine-eye penetrates to that which is immeasurable and boundless; the dharma-eye fully discerns all paths; the wisdom-eye sees the truth and leads to the other shore; and the buddha-eye is fully awakened to the dharma-nature."[104]

It is clear from a passage in chapter 3 that the author of the *Trea-*

sure Store Treatise was familiar with some version of the rhetoric of multiple eye-faculties: "As [the True One] is not a material dharma, it cannot be seen with the physical eye. As it is not a realizable dharma, it cannot be seen with the dharma-eye. Only with the clarity of the buddha-eye—neither seeing nor not seeing—is it seen with utter clarity" (149c11–15). This passage from the *Treasure Store Treatise* subordinates the dharma-eye, which is incapable of seeing the True One, to the supreme buddha-eye, which neither sees nor does not see.

The wondrous principle is difficult to reveal 妙理難顯也: The term "wondrous principle" (*miao-li* 妙理) is common in early Ch'an literature such as the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.[105] There seems to be little technical difference, however, between this term and the dozens of others used for the absolute, such as "holy principle" (*sheng-li* 聖理), "supreme principle" (*chih-li*), "apex of reality" (*shih-chi*), "apex of truth" (*chen-chi*), and so on. Typical in this regard is the following passage from the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*: "The tracks of the Ch'an master are far from the dust of the world. His spirit roams outside of things, and he is in accord with the wondrous principle that is devoid of attributes" 禪師迹遠俗塵、神遊物外、契無相之妙理 (Yanagida 1971:302).

This ends the long passage from the *Treasure Store Treatise* reproduced in the *Tsung-ching lu*.

> 147b20 **That which is transcendent has no body; that which is subtle has no mind. Because it lacks a body, it is the great body; because it lacks a mind, it is the great mind. Because it is the great mind, it encompasses the myriad things; because it is the great body, its capacity to respond is inexhaustible. Therefore, if you cling to your body as the [true] body, you will lose [the power of] its great response. If you cling to your mind as the [true] mind, you will lose [the power of] its great wisdom. Therefore, among the thousand scriptures and ten thousand treatises, there are none that do not expound on the transcendence of body and mind in order to eliminate grasping and attachment so one may enter into true reality. It is like a blacksmith who smelts ore, extracts the metal, and forms it into functional vessels. If one clings to the body, one will suffer the obstructions of the body, and because of the obstructions of the body, the dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form.[106] If one clings to the mind, one will suffer the obstructions of mind, and because of the obstructions of mind, true wisdom remains concealed within discursive thought. Therefore, the Great Way fails to penetrate, and the wondrous principle lies deeply concealed. There is turmoil among the six divinities**

within [the body], and the six sense spheres [are buffeted by] external conditions. Day and night hasten by in agitation with no respite.

Blacksmith (*chin-shih* 金師): This term will be taken up below, when it occurs in conjunction with the term "*ta-yeh*" 大冶 , or "great smith" (147c4–5), a term with antecedents in the *Chuang-tzu*.

Six divinities (*liu-shen* 六神): Chinese sources contain numerous enumerations of the "six divinities," beginning with a Chou dynasty list of the six war gods (MH 2.64). There are also the six spirits associated with the "six venerables" *liu-tsung* 六宗 , namely, (1) the four seasons, (2) heat and cold, (3) the sun, (4) the moon, (5) the stars, and (6) flood and drought. But in the present context the reference is likely to the six divinities that abide in the body (*liu-shen-chih-shen* 六身之神), that is, the gods dwelling in the heart, lungs, liver, kidney, spleen, and gall. These deities play an important role in Taoist inner alchemy and are mentioned repeatedly in the *Huang-t'ing nei-ching ching* 黄庭内景經 (Scripture of the Interior Spirits of the Yellow Court), a text associated with Mao-shan Taoism.[107] But they also figure in Buddhist works such as the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, in conjunction with descriptions of various bodily diseases and their remedies.[108] There is thus little reason to impute a particularly alchemical significance to the six divinities; they were most likely part and parcel of the medieval Chinese understanding of human physiology.

147b29 **One who fails to discern this mind will not perceive subtlety. One who fails to discern this body will not perceive transcendence. Should you fail to perceive transcendence and subtlety, you will lose the essentials of the Way. This is the meaning of the scripture when it says: "The Buddha has explained that no body is called the great body." This is known as refuting the expedient and returning to reality, destroying the conventional and returning to truth. It is like a blacksmith forging metal into vessels. The apparent characteristics [of the metal] disappear as it is blended and fused by the power of the great forge. The great forge is the Great Way. Within the forge of the Great Way, endless transformations are produced, flowing forth in a myriad streams. Yet irrespective of the processes of formation and destruction, there is no actual increase or decrease. Therefore, the scripture says: "Whether a buddha exists or not, the inherent attribute abides eternally." There is talk of the dissolution of attributes only for the sake of the ignorant who cling to the existence of attributes and fear their nonexistence. There is talk of [the existence of] attributes in order to refute those heretics who cling to the nonexistence of attributes and fear their existence. There is talk of the middle way in**

> **order to affirm the nonduality of the existence and nonexistence of attributes. This is all intended to overcome grasping and eliminate doubt, but such talk will never subsume the principle. But should there be someone who clearly comprehends that attributes are uniform, nondual, and devoid of dharmas, someone who is free of both grasping and rejecting, someone who is free of [the distinctions between] "this" and "that" and anything in between, then [for such a person] the unerring sages explain the natural pervasion of principle.**

This is the meaning of the scripture when it says: "The Buddha has explained that no body is called the great body" 故經云 : 佛說非身是名大身、亦復如是: This is from the Kumārajīva translation of the Diamond Sūtra (*Vajracchedikā; Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching* 金剛般若波羅蜜經): "[The Buddha said:] 'Subhūti, suppose there were a man with a body as large as Sumeru, the king of mountains. What do you think—is his body great or not?' Subhūti replied: 'It is indeed exceedingly great, World-Honored One. Why so? The Buddha has explained that no body is called the great body.' "[109] In short, the point of the *Vajracchedikā* passage is that the only true attribute of any object is that it is ultimately devoid of any abiding attributes.

Great forge (*ta-yeh* 大冶): The term is found, meaning an expert smith, in chapter 6 of the *Chuang-tzu*:

> When a skilled smith is casting metal 大冶鑄金, if the metal should leap up and say "I insist upon being made into a Mo-yeh" he would surely regard it as very inauspicious metal indeed. Now, having had the audacity to take on human form once, if I should say "I don't want to be anything but a man! Nothing but a man!" the Creator would surely regard me as a most inauspicious sort of person. So now I think of heaven and earth as a great furnace and the Creator as a skilled smith 大冶. Where could he send me that would not be right?[110]

The analogy to the forging of metal or gold recalls the reference to the golden image in chapter 1 of the *Treatise* (145a24), and the metaphor of the "great forge" appears again in chapter 3 below (149b2–5). Shaped into a vessel or sculpture, the underlying, undifferentiated metal assumes particular attributes, but such attributes have no abiding existence; they vanish as soon as they are returned to the forge.

Therefore, the scripture says: "Whether a buddha exists or not, the inherent attribute abides eternally" 故經云：有佛無佛、性相常住: I have not been able to identify the source of this quotation, although it crops up in a later Ch'an text as well, namely, in the biog-

raphy of the monk Yang-shan Hui-chi 仰山慧寂 (807–882) found in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (5.75.7).

147c13 **To take an attribute as a nonattribute is to say that it is precisely attributes that are free of attributes. Therefore, the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not that form obliterates emptiness." It is like flowing water: when the wind blows, it stirs up bubbles. But these bubbles are precisely water; it is not that the bubbles obliterate the water.**

To take a nonattribute as an attribute is to say that it is precisely the absence of attributes that is an attribute. The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form, yet form is in no way depleted." It is like bursting bubbles to make water. The water is precisely the bubbles; it is not that water is something separate from the bubbles.

Those who are fond of attributes and fear their nonexistence do not understand that those very attributes are nonattributes. Those who are fond of the nonexistence of attributes and fear their existence do not understand that nonattributes are attributes. Therefore, as for attributes and nonattributes, everything lies between the two. He who has awakened to this is called a buddha—one in whom delusion does not arise. And when delusion does not arise, there is original true reality.

The attribute that is the absence of attributes is called transcendence, because in essence transcendence is the absence of attributes. That attributes are identical with nonattributes is called subtlety, because in essence subtlety is not devoid of attributes. Therefore, those who practice the Way do not take pleasure in birth or grieve over death. How so? They regard birth as ephemeral and death as repose. They regard birth as transformation and death as truth. Therefore, the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not know one another. When they arise, they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease, they do not say: 'I am ceasing.'"

Great wisdom is without knowing; great awakening is without awakening. The apex of truth is the emptiness of principle, and it cannot be designated. Therefore, nirvāṇa is great quiescence and *prajñā* is without knowing. They are the perfect and complete dharma-body, in which all finite attributes are quiescent and extinguished.

Therefore, the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not that form obliterates emptiness" 故經云：色即是空、非色滅空: This is taken directly from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*.[111]

The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form, yet form is in no way depleted" 故經云:空即是色、色無盡也: Kamata assumes that the quotation is eight characters in length, and he is accordingly unable to identify the source. The first four characters, however, are well known

from the translation of the *Heart Sūtra* traditionally attributed to Hsüan-tsang and dated to 649,[112] and they are also found in the corresponding passage of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.[113] The former text enjoyed a wide distribution in the mid–T'ang period.[114]

Those who practice the Way do not take pleasure in birth nor grieve over death. How so? They regard birth as ephemeral and death as repose. They regard birth as transformation and death as truth 爲道者生而不喜、死而不憂。何以故。以生爲浮、以死爲休、以生爲化、以死爲眞: The sentiments are reminiscent of chapter 6 of the *Chuang-tzu*: "The True Man of ancient times knew nothing of loving life, knew nothing of hating death";[115] and again: "The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death."[116]

Therefore, the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not know one another. When they arise, they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease, they do not say: 'I am ceasing.'" 故經云：起唯法起、滅唯法滅、又此法者、各不相知。起時不言我起、滅時不言我滅: From the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (T.475: 14.545a). The same quotation is found in the *Ma-tsu yü-lu* (Iriya 1984:24) and is discussed in the previous chapter (see my commentary to section 144b18).

Great wisdom is without knowing 大智無知: The term "*wu-chih*" 無知 was used in the translations of numerous Mahāyāna scriptures (used to render Sk. *ajñāna*, *ajña*, etc.) and is found in all three translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.[117] The discussion of "not knowing" in the *Treasure Store Treatise* is, however, likely influenced by the *Chao lun*.[118] As discussed in Chapter 2, Seng-chao was influential in the Chinese understanding of the mind of the Buddhist sage as still and free of discursive activity. The sage, "without knowing," appears to act, but such activity is merely the spontaneous and unpremeditated response to instigating stimuli.

Apex of truth (*chen-chi* 眞際): The term is found in *Vimalakīrti*[119] and the *Chao lun*,[120] among other places. See the extended discussion of the related term "*pen-chi*" in the introduction to the following chapter.

5

The *Treasure Store Treatise* Chapter Three:

The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis

The third and concluding chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise,* titled "The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis" 本際虛玄, continues to develop the "Ch'annish" concerns of the previous chapter while punctuating the discourse with copious quotes from a variety of scriptures. However, insofar as extensive use is made of images and terminology culled from nominally Taoist sources, this chapter is closer in style to the first. It concludes with a summation of the entire treatise that is reminiscent of the "mystical" tone with which the treatise opened:

> The previous three chapters collectively encompass a single meaning, yet the functions that issue forth are inexhaustible, and thus the whole work is titled "The Treasure Store." It expounds on the treasury of the dense array of meanings and discourses on the source of sentient things. [It enables one to] clearly comprehend Great Clarity and mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle. One who perfects it coalesces with the True One. One who understands it has esoteric knowledge of mysterious powers. Therefore, it illuminates the suchness of the dharma-realm and reveals the essentials of the Great Way. (150a13–17)

Shortly before this final passage, the author writes that the entire text is a mere gloss on the meaning of the "True One" (*chen-i* 眞一), a term whose intellectual provenance was undeniably linked to Taoist scriptures (see the commentary to section 143c7):

> Thus the True One is known by many names and epithets, but in the end those names and epithets all mean the same thing. Some speak of "dharma-nature," or "dharma-body," or "true suchness," or "apex of reality," or "emptiness," or "buddha-nature," or "nirvāṇa," or "dharma-realm," and so on, including "point of genesis" and "matrix of the tathāgata"—the names are innumerable. But they are all different names for the True One; they all evoke the same meaning. And the same is true of the previous three chapters [of this treatise]. (150a3–5)

Other notable features of the third chapter include the critique of those who claim to attain visions as a result of "contemplating the buddha" (*nien-fo* 念佛) or "contemplating the *saṃgha*" (*nien-seng* 念僧) and the reference to the doctrine that insentient objects possess buddha-nature. These issues will be dealt with as they arise in the commentary to the translation below. The remainder of my preliminary remarks are devoted to the term "*pen-chi*" 本際, or "point of genesis," which figures prominently in this chapter.[1]

Point of Genesis

The term "*pen-chi*" is ubiquitous not only in Buddhist scripture, but also in the literature associated with Twofold Mystery Taoism. In fact, the meaning of the term became a subject of dispute during the Buddhist-Taoist debates of 658. The Buddhist historian Tao-hsüan (by no means an impartial source) claims that the deft arguments of the Buddhist I-pao 義褒 reduced the Taoist Li Jung to an embarrassed silence in the presence of the emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 (r. 649–683).[2] Despite the Taoist "ring" to the compound, the weight of textual evidence indicates that the term "*pen-chi*" originated in Buddhist circles, coined as a translation for a related set of Sanskrit technical terms. But the manner in which it came to be used by both Taoists and Buddhists in the T'ang reflects a complex cross-fertilization of ideas.

The use of *pen-chi* in translated materials is almost as old as Chinese Buddhism itself. The term first appears in translations by Lokakṣema, who worked in Lo-yang from A.D. 168 to 186. Reference to *pen-chi* is found, for example, in the *Wen-shu-shih-li wen p'u-sa shu ching* 文殊師利問菩薩署經 as well as in the *Tao-hsing po-jo ching* 道行般若經 (Sk. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*).[3] The former work no longer exists in Sanskrit, and thus it is impossible to determine with certainty the Sanskrit or Central Asian term or terms behind *pen-chi*. In the *Tao-hsing*, however, *pen-chi* corresponds to Sanskrit *bhūtakoṭi*, sometimes translated "reality limit."[4]

Bhūtakoṭi is itself a difficult and polyvalent term in Indian Buddhist literature, but its meaning in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is clear: it functions as a synonym for nirvāṇa, specifically "the inferior hīnayānistic nirvāṇa of the Arhat as distinct from the full and final nirvāṇa of a Buddha" (Conze 1973:x). In the *Tao-hsing po-jo ching* the term appears in a passage in which Māra attempts to deceive an advanced bodhisattva,

urging him to realize *bhūtakoṭi* (*pen-chi*) and thus to fall into the way of the *śrāvaka* and attain *srotaāpanna* (an achievement that precludes the future attainment of buddhahood).[5] The use of *pen-chi* to render *bhūtakoṭi* in the sense of "Hīnayāna nirvāṇa" is further confirmed by the *Mo-ho po-jo ch'ao ching* 摩訶般若鈔經 (T.226), the translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* attributed to Dharmapriya. This later translation is very close to that by Lokakṣema, which makes it doubly significant that where Dharmapriya uses the term "*pen-chi*," Lokakṣema has "the way of the *arhat*."[6] Lancaster, who has made an extensive study of the early translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, has observed that the term "*pen-chi*" "has a distinct Taoist flavor of 'original limit' " (1968:121; 1975: 38). Yet there is no evidence that the term was actually borrowed from a Taoist source, and it does not appear in the extant Taoist corpus until several centuries after these early Buddhist translations.

The term "*pen-chi*" is also found in the Dharmarakṣa translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Cheng fa-hua ching* 正法華經), which was completed in 286. Dharmarakṣa's translation differs to such a degree from the surviving Sanskrit manuscripts that it is impossible to determine the Sanskrit term or terms behind *pen-chi*. Yet phrases such as "the *pen-chi* known to the *śrāvaka*s" 聲聞知本際 suggest that the meaning is close to the *bhūtakoṭi* of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.[7] Somewhat more enigmatic is the appearance of *pen-chi* in the *Fang-kuang po-jo ching* (Sk. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), translated in 291 by Wu-lo-ch'a 無羅叉 (*Mokṣala; see Kamata 1968:126). Here the term appears in the title of chapter 80, *Hsin pen-chi p'in* 信本際品, but it is immediately replaced by *chen-chi* 眞際 (apex of truth) in the text of the chapter itself.[8]

The apparently widespread use of the term "*bhūtakoṭi*" to refer to an inferior attainment associated with the path of the *śrāvaka* is eclipsed in later Mahāyāna. Later scriptures use *bhūtakoṭi* as a synonym for "absolute truth" or "absolute reality" without any of the earlier negative connotations. This later reworking of the term is in evidence even in Haribhadra's commentary to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, which cites the terms "*bhūtakāya*," "*dharmakāyaparinispatti*," and "*dharmadhātu*" as equivalents to *bhūtakoṭi* (Conze 1967:308). This is indeed a significant shift in meaning, and it seems that the Chinese were quick to realize the potential confusion in the use of the same term to refer to somewhat incommensurate religious ideals. For whatever reason, by the fourth and fifth centuries the Chinese had largely abandoned the use

of *pen-chi* as an equivalent for *bhūtakoṭi*, preferring instead *chen-chi* (apex of truth), *shih-chi* 實際 (apex of reality), *chen-shih-chi* 眞實際 (apex of true reality), and so on.

But the term "*pen-chi*" did not disappear from Chinese Buddhist translations altogether. It continued to be used to render the Sanskrit terms "*koṭi*" and "*pūrvakoṭi*" in contexts where these terms refer to the very origin of *saṃsāra*—the "point of genesis" or the beginning of time itself. In fact, the term "*pen-chi-chi*" 本際計 ("point of genesis doctrine" or "creationism") was used to denote the heterodox belief that the world emerged out of a primal ocean that gave rise to a cosmic egg, which in turn produced the creator god Brahmā.[9]

The notion that the universe has a point of origin in the distant past finds expression in a variety of early Indian cosmogonic myths. One of the most popular, recorded in, among other places, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, has the world emerging from a cosmic egg (Sk. *aṇḍa*): "In the beginning this world was merely nonbeing. It was existent. It developed. It turned into an egg. It lay for the period of a year. It was split asunder. One of the two eggshell-parts became silver, one gold. That which was of silver is this earth. That which was of gold is the sky. What was the outer membrane is the mountains. What was the inner membrane is cloud and mist. What were the veins are the rivers. What was the fluid within is the ocean."[10]

This same myth is found in a variety of Buddhist texts that found their way into China, although the story is inevitably associated with "heretical" (i.e., non-Buddhist) Indian traditions. A detailed description is found, for example, in the *T'i-p'o p'u-sa shih-leng-ch'ieh-ching chung-wai-tao hsiao-sheng nieh-p'an lun* 提婆菩薩釋楞伽經中外道小乘涅槃論, a text attributed to Āryadeva and translated by Bodhiruci sometime between 508 and 535. This text gives summaries of twenty heterodox views of nirvāṇa alluded to in the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The twentieth and last of these views, called "primal birth [from] the *aṇḍa*" 本生安荼, is described as follows:

> Originally there was no sun or moon, stars or planets, sky or earth, but only a great expanse of water. In time a great *aṇḍa* appeared, which resembled a round chicken egg of the color of gold. It ripened and then broke into two halves. The upper half formed the heavens, and the lower half formed the earth. In between these two halves was born the god Brahmā, who is known as the Lord Ancestor of All Beings. He produced all sentient and insentient things. Therefore, both sentient and insentient things disperse and pass away, and that is called "nirvāṇa."

> Therefore, the heterodox teachers who espouse the theory of the *aṇḍa* teach that the great *aṇḍa* gives rise to Brahmā who is eternal, and this is what they call the cause of nirvāṇa.[11]

The "cosmic egg" story was known to T'ang Buddhist commentators; it is mentioned in the writings of the scholiasts K'uei-chi 窺基 (636–682), Chih-chou 智周 (678–733), and Ch'eng-kuan (738–839), among others. Chih-chou, in his *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun yen-pi* 成唯識論演祕 (a commentary to the *Ch'eng-wei-shih lun* 成唯識論, T.1585), describes the Indian belief that human society, with all of its caste divisions, emerged out of the body of Brahmā. The commentary continues: "The 'point of genesis' 本際 refers to the primordial birth 本生. The teachers who espouse the doctrine of the *aṇḍa* teach that originally there was no sun or moon, stars or planets, sky or earth, but only fire and water."[12] The text subsequently relates the theory of the creation of the world out of the *aṇḍa*, reproducing almost verbatim the passage found in the Āryadeva text translated above. And the story is repeated with little change in Ch'eng-kuan's commentary to the *Avataṃsaka*, the *Ta-fang-kuang fo hua-yen-ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, as well as in K'uei-chi's commentary to the *Ch'eng-wei-shih lun*: the *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun shu-chi* 成唯識論述記.[13] There is little doubt that this genesis myth was well known to Buddhist commentators in the early T'ang and that it was associated with the term "*pen-chi*."

Indian Buddhist scholastics were virtually unanimous in their rejection of such creation myths. The "canonical" Buddhist position was that the notion of a beginning of time is either simply false or unintelligible. Some texts emphasize that *saṃsāra* is beginningless—sentient beings have always been revolving in the rounds of rebirth. Other texts are more ambiguous: they do not rule out the possibility of a beginning, but they insist that the issue cannot be determined by anyone short of a buddha, and thus speculation about such matters is pointless. In either case, the very notion of a beginning to the universe constitutes a hypothetical and ultimately unthinkable abstraction.

This use of *pen-chi* to denote a hypothetical point of genesis is found in a variety of early translations of Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna scriptures. In the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (completed between 435 and 443), one reads: "The wheel of life and death, the flowing of life and death, one does not know its point of genesis" 生死輪廻、生死流轉、不知本際.[14] Whether one takes this as

meaning "*saṃsāra* is beginningless, and thus there is no origin to be known" or "the rounds of *saṃsāra* extend unimaginably into the past so that the origin is unknowable" is beside the point; the notion of a beginning of time is posited only to be repudiated.

The term "*pen-chi*" is manipulated in precisely this manner in a variety of Chinese translations of important Mahāyāna scriptures. The following representative list includes texts that may well have influenced the understanding of *pen-chi* in the Sui and early T'ang:[15]

1. The Kumārajīva translation of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (*Chung lun*). The chapter titled "The Discernment of the Point of Genesis" (*Kuan pen-chi p'in* 觀本際品) argues that since the concept of a beginning and an end to *saṃsāra* is stated by the Buddha to be ungraspable, and thus empty, *saṃsāra* itself is empty—there can be no "middle" to that which has neither beginning nor end.[16]
2. The Dharmakṣema translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, completed between 414 and 421, in which *pen-chi* translates *pūrvakoṭi*.[17]
3. The Guṇabhadra translation of the *Śrīmālādevī-siṃhanāda-sūtra*, dating to 436: "World-Honored One! *Saṃsāra* is dependent on the *tathāgatagarbha*, and as it is dependent on the *tathāgatagarbha*, it is said that the point of genesis cannot be known."[18]
4. The Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, completed in 443. Typical of the many occurrences of *pen-chi* is the following: "Mahāmati, the point of genesis of *saṃsāra* is unknowable."[19] It is also found in the 513 Bodhiruci translation of the same.[20] In these texts *pen-chi* corresponds to *koṭi* or *pūrvakoṭi*.
5. The Ratnamati translation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, completed in 508 or 511: "The beginningless point of genesis of all beings is beyond the grasp of understanding."[21]
6. The Jñānayaśas 闍那耶舍 translation of the **Mahāyānābhisamaya-sūtra*, completed in A.D. 570: "The unfolding of defilement has no prior point of origin—we do not know its point of genesis."[22]

The San-lun scholar Chi-tsang (549–623) produced what may be the most comprehensive discussion of the point of genesis in any Chinese Buddhist exegetical work. It is found in his *Chung-kuan lun shu* 中觀論疏, a commentary to the *Chung lun*.[23] As mentioned above, the *Chung lun* contains a short chapter titled "The Discernment of the Point of Genesis," which, in typical Mādhyamika fashion, demonstrates that the concept of a genesis point is self-contradictory and hence unintelligible. Chi-tsang's treatment is particularly valuable, as it includes mention of native Chinese theories of creation associated with the term "*pen-chi*":

Question: Does the cycle of *saṃsāra* have a fixed beginning or not?

Answer: There is a difference between the positions of those within [the fold of the Buddhist teachings] and those without. Those outside the path talk of the autonomous spontaneity of the mysterious origin that is the root of the myriad things and the beginning of all dharmas. This they call the "point of genesis." There are also those outside the path who, in their exhaustive investigation of all dharmas, [conclude that their temporal] boundaries cannot be grasped, and thus they say that the world is unbounded. This is called "the absence of any point of genesis." Lao-tzu said: "The nameless is the origin of the myriad things; the named is the mother of the myriad things."[24] This is also [to affirm] the existence of a beginning.

Those people within the fold of the teaching who follow the small vehicle only understand that *saṃsāra* has a final end that lies in nirvāṇa without remainder. They do not speak of a beginning point as the fundamental origin of *saṃsāra*. This is called "the absence of any point of genesis."

Question: Why do they say this?

Answer: When the Buddha explained that the point of genesis and the duration of *saṃsāra* cannot be known, it was to instill in those of the small vehicle a profound weariness of birth and [a longing for] release. Therefore, he did not elucidate a beginning. He taught an end to *saṃsāra* so that they would quickly extinguish the defilements and rapidly enter [nirvāṇa] without remainder. Moreover, the Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika monks likewise do not hold that *saṃsāra* has a beginning.

Followers of the Mahāyāna say that if you discuss the six realms [of rebirth] from a comprehensive perspective, you cannot talk of a beginning or an end. We do not know how [the realm of *saṃsāra*] arose in the first place, nor can we fathom its final end. Therefore there is no beginning or end. But if you approach [the subject from the perspective of] a single individual, then there is a beginning and an end. In the beginning, ignorance initiates mental processes that arise out of emptiness; in the end, with the severing of the five abidings 五住,[25] one attains the dharma-body.

Question: How does one refute this?

Answer: If *saṃsāra* has a beginning, then the world is bounded. If it is without a beginning, then it is boundless. But the question as to whether [the world] is bounded or not is one of the fourteen "undecided questions"[26] that, according to both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna scriptures, the Buddha refused to answer. For this reason one must hold neither to the existence of a beginning nor to its nonexistence....

Question: What is the difference between "original abiding" 本住 and the "point of genesis?"

Answer: "Original abiding" refers to human beings, while the "point of genesis" is a term for dharmas. Also, the "locus of the point of genesis" is that locus from which human beings and dharmas initially arose.[27]

Chi-tsang was obviously aware of the various theories of his day pertaining to the point of genesis. He begins by citing what looks to be a Chinese conception of the universe arising "spontaneously" from a mysterious and obscure point in the distant past.[28] A few lines later Chi-tsang quotes Lao-tzu, who is similarly associated with those who posit the existence of a "point of genesis." The commentary goes on to deal with the canonical Buddhist teaching that *saṃsāra* is beginningless and thus without a point of genesis. Following San-lun doctrine, Chi-tsang rejects both positions, insisting that the issue is, according to scripture, indeterminable, and thus a point of genesis can neither be affirmed as existent nor negated as nonexistent.

Yet a position akin to the one Chi-tsang associates with Lao-tzu remains popular in Chinese Buddhist writings, particularly in Ch'an circles. One finds Ch'an authors, for example, regarding the "genesis point"—a term that in translated Buddhist canonical materials is understood as an abstraction with no existential referent—as the mysterious, unmanifest but omnipresent source of all phenomena. This point of genesis is not so much a moment of creation in the unimaginably distant past (the "big bang") but rather the immanent ground of being from which everything springs. As such, it became a popular synonym for ultimate reality or the Tao in both Taoist and Buddhist literature.

It is possible that this usage represents an awareness of or a confusion engendered by the earlier use of *pen-chi* to render *bhūtakoṭi*, coupled with the fact that *bhūtakoṭi* itself came to denote the absolute. In any case, by the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese regarded *pen-chi* as more or less equivalent to the apex of reality (*shih-chi*) or the matrix of buddhahood (*ju-lai-tsang* 如來藏, Sk. *tathāgatagarbha*) in the sense of the inexpressible and ultimately mysterious source of all being. This use of *pen-chi* is well illustrated in the opening passage of the apocryphal *Yüan-chüeh ching* (Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra), an influential text in early Ch'an circles: "Thus have I heard. Once the Bhagavan entered into the *samādhi* that is the radiant storehouse of spiritual powers in which all tathāgatas dwell adorned in radiant splendor. This is the ground of pure awakening of all living beings. With body and mind quiescent, he was one with the point of genesis, completely suffusing the ten directions."[29] Moreover, in section 8 of the same text the Buddha addresses Wei-te Bodhisattva in verse: "Wei-te! You should know that the unsurpassed mind of great awakening is the nondual mark of the point of genesis."[30]

Another T'ang apocryphon, the *Chiu-ching ta-pei ching* recovered from Tun-huang, uses the expression "point of genesis" in much the same manner.[31] In the beginning of fascicle 3, section 9 (the title of this chapter is missing), there is mention of the "ocean[-like] treasure store of the genesis point of mind-nature" 心性本際海藏 out of which flow a torrent of innumerable buddhas, bodhisattvas, sages, immortals, scriptures and teachings, wisdoms and spiritual powers, transformations and skills, and so on. In fact, everything, from the very heights of heaven to the bottom of the sea, emerges from the "genesis point of mind-nature" (*hsin-hsing pen-chi* 心性本際).[32] Here *hsin-hsing pen-chi* is essentially synonymous with "the innate nature of mind" (*hsin-hsing* 心性).

This association of the "point of origin" with the "nature of mind" is found not only in Buddhist texts of the period but in Taoist texts as well. Although the term "*pen-chi*" does not appear in any of the early Taoist classics such as the *Chuang-tzu*, the *Lao-tzu*, or the *Lieh-tzu*, or in *hsüan-hsüeh* works such as the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, it frequently appears in works associated with the Twofold Mystery tradition. Most significant perhaps is the use of the term "*pen-chi*" in the title of the *Pen-chi ching* (Scripture of the Genesis Point), a Twofold Mystery text that circulated widely in the eighth century.[33] Wu Chi-yu suggests that the title of this nominally Taoist work may well have been borrowed from an earlier Buddhist sūtra, specifically one or both of the following fourth- and fifth-century translations: (1) the *Pen-chi ching* 本際經 found in Saṃghadeva's translation of the *Madhyamāgama*[34] and (2) the *Wu-shih pen-chi ching* 無始本際經 found in Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama*.[35] But while the title may have been borrowed, the semantic range of the term "*pen-chi*" has changed. While both these early Buddhist works use *pen-chi* in the "canonical" sense noted above (i.e., in discussions of the beginninglessness of *saṃsāra*),[36] the *pen-chi* of the *Pen-chi ching* apparently referred to the "ultimate source of being" mentioned in the *Chiu-ching ta-pei ching* and the *Yüan-chüeh ching*.

It is difficult, however, to ascertain the precise sense of the term in the *Pen-chi ching*, as surviving sections of the text do not discuss *pen-chi* in any detail. Chapter 4 of the *Pen-chi ching*, titled "The Nature of the Way" (or "Tao-Nature," *Tao-hsing p'in* 道性品), does, however, contain an extended discussion of the term "*tao-hsing*" that was evidently modeled on the Buddhist *fo-hsing*:

> The Tao-nature is in fact the emptiness of true reality, which is neither empty nor nonempty, and non-nonempty, not a dharma or a non-dharma, not a thing or a nonthing, not a person or a nonperson, not a

> cause or a noncause, not a result or a nonresult, not a beginning or a nonbeginning, not an end or a nonend, not root or branch, and yet it is the foundation of all dharmas, neither made nor produced. It is called that which is naturally so without conditioning 无爲自然而然. It cannot be made thus, nor can it not be thus, and therefore it is called natural. Awakening to the true nature 眞性 is called awakening to the Tao—fully and clearly perceiving the unsurpassed Tao.[37]

It would seem that the *pen-chi* of the *Pen-chi ching* is more or less synonymous with this "Tao-nature"—it is the "foundation of all dharmas, neither made nor produced." The association of *pen-chi* with *tao-hsing* recalls the association of *pen-chi* and *hsin-hsing* in the *Chiu-ching ta-pei ching* cited above. *Pen-chi* refers to the source of all being, identified as a theoretical point in the distant past that remains eternally present in all sentient beings as the buddha-nature or the nature of mind. This is precisely the sense in which the term will be used in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

By the T'ang, the term "*pen-chi*" was used widely by both Buddhists and Taoists, which may explain why the notion of a point of genesis became a subject of controversy during the court debate of 658. Li Jung, whose Twofold Mystery connections are discussed in Chapter 1, represented the Taoist position in this exchange. Li Jung first ascended the high-seat and explained the meaning of the point of genesis. (Unfortunately, Li Jung's exposition is not recorded.) The emperor then requested the Buddhist scholar I-pao to take the high-seat and respond. I-pao begins the debate with a challenge to Li Jung:

> Question: Is it called the "genesis point" because the Tao originates from this point or because the point originates from the Tao?
>
> [Li Jung] replies: The two views are complementary.
>
> Rebuttal: If the Tao originates from this point, then the point is the root of the Tao. Yet if the point originates from the Tao, then the Tao is the basis of the point.
>
> Reply: What is the problem with this?
>
> Elucidation: If you suppose that the Tao and the genesis point mutually interpenetrate each other [and thus share the same ontological status], it follows that the self-so and the Tao mutually interpenetrate.
>
> Reply: [But the *Tao-te ching* says:] "The Tao is modeled on the self-so." The self-so is not modeled on the Tao.[38]
>
> Further elucidation: If you then suppose that the Tao is modeled on the self-so, but the self-so is not modeled on the Tao, then it follows that the Tao originated from the genesis point, but the genesis point did not originate from the Tao.
>
> Thereupon Li Jung found himself in difficulty and fretted over the failure of his doctrine. He simply remained silent, unable to respond further.

問云;既義標本際爲道本於際名爲本際、爲際本[於]道名爲本際。答云:互得進。難云:道本於際、際爲道本。亦可際本於道、道爲際元。答云:何往不通。並曰:若使道將本際互得相通、返亦可自然與道互得相法。答曰:道法自然、自然不法道。又並曰:若使道法於自然、自然不法道、亦可道本於本際、本際不本道。於是道士著難恐墜厥宗。但存緘默不能加報.[39]

It is difficult to bring out the nuances of the Chinese in English translation. I-pao's critique is based on the manipulation of the two words that form the compound *pen-chi*—*pen* 本 meaning "original" or "fundamental," and *chi* 際 meaning "apex" or "extreme limit." One might assume that Li Jung originally explained *pen-chi* in a manner that rendered it synonymous with the Tao, and it is clear that he is reluctant to grant ontological or temporal priority to either term. (To privilege the Tao by asserting that it exists prior to the point of genesis implies that the point of genesis is not in fact the point of genesis, since something precedes it. But to do otherwise is to compromise the supremacy of the Tao.) While it is possible to make sense of I-pao's critique of Li Jung, I-pao's own doctrine vis-à-vis *pen-chi* is not entirely clear. Perhaps he was advocating the "canonical" Buddhist position that denies altogether the intelligibility of a "point of origin" understood as the beginning of *saṃsāra*.

If I-pao was indeed arguing in favor of the canonical view, this was but one possible understanding of *pen-chi* in T'ang Buddhism. Buddhists as well as Taoists used the term in a positive sense to refer simultaneously to a primal origin and an immanent absolute. The term is used in precisely this way in texts associated with early Ch'an, most notably the *Treasure Store Treatise*.[40] It is thus possible that the extended use of the compound in the third chapter of this text was part of an ongoing debate in the T'ang concerning the existence and the nature of a point of genesis.

Translation and Commentary

147c29 **Chapter Three: The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis**

The point of genesis is the unobstructed nirvāṇa-nature of all living beings. How is it, then, that the deluded mind and its various attendant perversions suddenly come into being? It is merely due to the confusions of a single instant of thought. Moreover, this thought itself arises from the One, and the One arises from nonthinking. Nonthinking is itself without origin. Therefore, the scripture says: "The Way initially begets One." The One is the unconditioned. "One begets two." Two is

the deluded mind, since, in knowing One, there is a division into two. Two begets the *yin* and the *yang*, and *yin* and *yang* are movement and stillness. With *yang* there is clarity and with *yin* turbidity. Thus the clear pneuma constitutes the interior space of the mind, and the turbid pneuma congeals without as form, creating the two dharmas of mind and form. Mind resonants with *yang*, and *yang* resonants with movement. Form resonants with *yin*, and *yin* resonants with stillness. Since heaven and earth are interconnected, stillness and the Sublime Female penetrate each other. Thus it is said that all living beings are endowed at birth with the ethereal pneuma of *yin* and *yang*. Therefore, two is born from one, two begets three, and three begets the myriad dharmas.

The third chapter opens with a simple cosmogonic scheme modeled on that of the *Tao-te ching*. The *Treasure Store Treatise* does not construe delusion as the result of the actions of innumerable past lives but rather as arising concomitant with each moment of deluded thought. This is the foundation of Chinese Mahāyāna "sudden enlightenment" soteriology: if one can put an end to deluded thought for but an instant, there is an immediate reversion to one's "true nature"—the ineffable source from which all phenomena arise. Thus the *Treasure Store Treatise* states that thought itself arises from the One, and the origin of the One is inconceivable.

Therefore, the scripture says: "The Way initially begets One." The One is the unconditioned. "One begets two." Two is the deluded mind, since, in knowing One, there is a division into two. Two begets the *yin* and the *yang*, and *yin* and *yang* are movement and stillness 故經云：道始生一、一爲無爲。一生二、二爲妄心，以知一故即分爲二。二生陰陽、陰陽爲動靜也: This passage alludes to *Tao-te ching* 42: "The way begets One, One begets two, two begets three, and three begets the myriad things. The myriad things carry the *yin* and embrace the *yang*. Through the blending of the pneumas [of the *yin* and the *yang*], they are brought into harmony" 道生一、一生二、二生三、三生萬物。萬物負陰而抱陽、冲氣以爲和. This cryptic passage gave rise to multiple interpretative schemes in later Taoist cosmogonic speculation. One standard version holds that the One is the Tao itself, "two" is the *yin* and the *yang* (or heaven and earth, or being and nonbeing), while "three" is heaven, earth, and humanity (Girardot 1983:58), but this interpretation constitutes but one of many possibilities. In a discussion of this passage, Girardot comments that "mythological images have been reduced to numerical ciphers but, possibly as Lévi-Strauss

would have it, content has revealed its deep structure of binary opposition and a mythological 'logic' of resolution. One and two are resolved by a third term of synthesis that suggests a certain kind of mythological intentionality."[41]

The *Treasure Store Treatise* approaches the passage in accordance with Buddhist metaphysics, which, like the wheel of dependent origination, understands the genesis of the cosmos and the genesis of consciousness to be but two sides of the same coin; there is no clear-cut distinction between epistemology and ontology. Thus the Tao, mysterious and hidden, gives rise to the One that is the unconditioned (literally "nonaction" 無爲). The One becomes the object of knowledge, making two (i.e., One and the consciousness of One). In the next stage the subject-object dualism of the One (object) and the knowing of the One (subject) give rise to *yin* and *yang*, or phenomena and consciousness, now understood as potencies or conditioning forces. Thus the split between subject and object is the foundation of dualistic, discursive, and, in the Buddhist context, deluded thought, precisely because it facilitates the reification of the self through ascribing agency to consciousness. Autonomous agency is an illusion—in Buddhist jargon, consciousness and its object are ultimately codependent and therefore empty of intrinsic nature. *Yang* and *yin* are associated with mind (*hsin* 心) and form (*ssu* 色), respectively, the two fundamental categories of dharmas. The homologies of *yang* and *yin*, mind and form, and stillness and movement account for the manifest world with its infinite diversity and its unceasing oscillation between action and stillness.

In previous chapters I rendered *wu-wei* as "nonaction" or "without intent," a translation justified by the immediate context of the term as well as the intellectual agenda of this study (in which I prefer to foreground native Chinese readings). However, in chapter 3 of the *Treatise* the context shifts to more scholastic concerns with conditioned (Sk. *saṃskṛta*) versus unconditioned (Sk. *asaṃskṛta*) dharmas, the doctrine of innate buddha-nature, and so on. I thus feel compelled to render *wu-wei* as "unconditioned" to maintain the intelligibility of the discussion, although the use of multiple translations tends to mask the polyvalence of this single overdetermined Chinese term.

Sublime Female (*hsüan p'in* 玄牝): The Sublime Female appears in *Tao-te ching* 6: "The valley spirit never dies; she is called the sublime female. The gateway to the sublime female is called the foundation of

heaven and earth." According to Fukunaga, the feminine Valley Spirit is associated with lush valleys, probably derived through anthropomorphizing fertility (1978a:1.74). The sublime female refers to the miraculous power of the female to engender and nourish life, which is the productive power of the Tao itself.[42]

> 148a11 **In dependence on the unconditioned there is mind, and in dependence on mind there is form. Therefore, the scripture says: "With the multiplication of mind and form, mind begets a myriad thoughts, and form gives rise to a myriad facets. These karmic conditions combine, together becoming the seeds of the triple realm."**
>
> **The triple realm comes into existence because we take this grasping mind as fundamental and are ignorant of the True One. As there is turbidity, the pneuma of delusion is born. When the pneuma of delusion is still and clear, it manifests as the formless realm, which we know as mind. When the clarity is muddied, it manifests as the realm of form, which we know as the body. The scattered sediment and dregs manifest as the realm of desire, which we know as the objective realm of the senses. Therefore, the scripture says: "The triple realm is illusory and unreal, the mere transformations of the single deluded mind."**
>
> **When the One arises within, the unconditioned exists without. When two arise within, the conditioned exists without. When three arise within, the triple realm exists without. It is this mutual resonance of inner and outer that gives rise to the multiplicity of dharmas and to defilements as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. If the One did not arise, there would be no unconditioned. Should someone say, "I experience the unconditioned," this is mere delusion. If two did not arise, the conditioned would not exist. Should someone say, "I experience the conditioned," this is mere delusion. If three did not arise, there would be no triple realm. Should someone say, "The triple realm positively exists," this is mere delusion. Therefore, the scripture says: "With existence comes suffering; the absence of existence is nirvāṇa."**

As there is turbidity, the pneuma of delusion is born. When the pneuma of delusion is still and clear, it is the formless realm, which we know as mind 即有濁辱生其妄氣。妄氣澄清爲無色界、所謂心也: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 15: "If turbid waters are stilled, they will gradually become clear; If something inert is set in motion, it will gradually come to life" 孰能濁以靜之徐清。孰能安以動之徐生 (trans. Mair 1990:76). The "pneuma of delusion" (*wang-ch'i* 妄氣) is an unusual coinage that I am unable to locate elsewhere.

Therefore, the scripture says: "The triple realm is illusory and unreal, the mere transformations of the single deluded mind" 故經

云:三界虛妄不實、唯一妄心變化: Kamata has attempted to trace this quotation and documents several near misses (1965:382–384). It resembles a passage found in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* but does not quite match any of the extant translations.[43] The quotation is even closer to a passage in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, but again there are no exact matches.[44] The quote in the *Treasure Store Treatise* is, however, very close in meaning to the surviving Sanskrit recension of the *Laṅkāvatāra*: "*Sarvaṃ hi mahāmate tribhavam abhūtavikalpaprabhavaṃ.*"[45] Kamata suggests that the *Treasure Store Treatise* may be quoting a no-longer-extant version of the *Laṅkāvatāra* passage.[46]

> 148a25 **When *śrāvaka*s realize the unconditioned, they still have the residue of existence. All beings up to and including the bodhisattvas of the tenth stage abide at a stage wherein there remains a subtle veil of ignorance. Therefore, the unconditioned is predicated upon the One, the conditioned is predicated upon two, and the triple realm is predicated upon three.**
>
> **There are two kinds of unconditioned. The first is the unconditioned that is the realization of extinction. The second is the innate and original unconditioned. The unconditioned that is the realization of extinction refers to the personal embodiment of suchness by all sages who have cultivated the path and cut through obstructions. Therefore, the scripture says: "The worthies and sages may be distinguished [from others] by virtue of the unconditioned dharma."[47] The innate and original unconditioned is the original nature of all dharmas; it is neither cultivated nor realized. It is not something that humans can touch or something that can be tallied with dharmas. Humans and dharmas are inherently empty and thus are in essence pure and absolute truth. Therefore, the scripture says: "The principle of reality is neither conditioned nor unconditioned. It is neither of this shore nor of the other shore, nor does it flow in between." Since it is not conditioned, it cannot be cultivated or learned. Since it is not unconditioned, it cannot be realized through extinction. If it could be cultivated or realized, then it would not be the innate and original unconditioned. Therefore, the scripture says: "All dharmas have nonarising as their essential principle." And since this essential principal itself does not arise, there is no nonarising. That which is free of both arising and nonarising cannot be realized. Why so? If there is realization, then there is arising, and if there is no realization, then there is no arising. It all rests upon the primordial great darkness.**

There are two kinds of unconditioned. The first is the unconditioned that is the realization of extinction. The second is the innate and original unconditioned 言無爲者有二種、一者證滅無爲、二者

性本無爲: This distinction is predicated on a scholastic distinction between two kinds of buddha-nature: that which is actualized or realized by enlightened sentient beings and that which is inherent in all things, both animate and inanimate. This distinction is fully articulated in the writings of the Ti-lun exegete Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (523–592); in his *Ta-sheng i-chang* 大乘義章, for example, Hui-yüan distinguishes between the "buddha-nature that knows" (*neng-chih-hsing* 能知性) and the "nature that is known" (*so-chih-hsing* 所知性). The former is described as the "mind of true consciousness" (*chen-shih-hsin* 眞識心), which is capable of awakening to buddha-nature through the elimination of ignorance, whereas "the nature that is known is like the dharma-nature, the apex of reality, the mark of reality, the dharma-realm, the supreme meaning of the teachings and the sūtras which is emptiness, ultimate truth, and so on" 所知性者、謂如法性實際實相法界法經第一義空一實諦等.[48] This distinction is further developed by San-lun and T'ien-t'ai exegetes and came to play an important role in the theory of the buddha-nature of the insentient (see below). Like the Mahāyāna notions of *ālayavijñāna* (storehouse consciousness) and *tathāgatagarbha* (matrix of buddhahood), such doctrines were attempts to explain how enlightenment was possible in the first place. (If buddhahood is truly unconditioned, it cannot be "cultivated," and thus for liberation to be possible, buddhahood must be inherent.) But at the same time, this innate buddhahood is not realized by the vast multitude of living beings, so a distinction must be maintained between the buddha-nature that is innate but unrealized and the buddha-nature that is realized or actualized or manifest in awakened beings. The pressing existential issue, then, is not what makes buddhahood attainable so much as why most people fail to grasp their inherent nature in the first place. This issue came to preoccupy Buddhist writers from all the major exegetical schools throughout the T'ang and Sung dynasties.[49]

Humans and dharmas are inherently empty and thus are in essence pure and absolute truth 人法本空體淨眞諦: The term "*chen-ti*" 眞諦 is a common translation for absolute truth (Sk. *paramārthasatya*), as opposed to conventional truth (Sk. *saṃvṛtisatya*). The unconditioned that is realized through practice belongs to conventional truth, as opposed to the inherent and original unconditioned that constitutes the essence of all dharmas, which alone is ultimate.

Great darkness (*t'ai-ming* 太冥): The great darkness can refer to the northern direction, the "apex of *yin*," but in the present context it refers to the inconceivable and mysterious origin of all being.[50]

148b10 **The unarisen is the point of genesis. It does not appear, nor does it disappear. Like empty space, there is nothing with which it can be compared. All conditioned dharmas are illusory and unreal. It is only through the contingencies of codependence that [things] perdure or perish. Follow it back to its source and return to the original apex of reality. It is only because sentient beings have lost the origin that they seek outside of themselves, engaging in futile and agonizing practices for aeons on end without awakening to the truth. This is because [it is futile] to take hold of the root and strive after the branches, since the branches are illusory and false, yet [it is similarly futile] to take hold of the branches and strive after the root, since that root is vacuous and unreal.**

The root should not be sought out. Why so? Because the root is precisely that which does not strive after the root, just as gold does not strive after gold. The branches should not be cultivated. Why so? Because delusion does not strive after delusion, just as a clod of earth cannot be transformed into gold.

The dharmas of body and mind are vacuous, contingent, and unreal. Vulgar people often seek the Way through cultivating body and mind, which is tantamount to seeking gold in a clod of earth. If the Way were dependent on body and mind, then why would the sages speak of transcending body and mind? Therefore, know that this is not the Way. Nor should original truth be cultivated. Why so? Because it is a nondual dharma.

The sage does not consider birth as existence or death as nonexistence. [The sage] is free of the mind that grasps and rejects owing to deluded thought. This is called [meeting with] a myriad births and a myriad deaths while remaining impartial and dispassionate. In the midst of natural spontaneity [the sage] acts, yet with no sense of self. Yet the delusion of the ignorant gives rise to inner confusions that engender a multitude of views. Therefore, what is unreal will not yield clarity or insight.

Thus the genesis point is the purity of one's intrinsic nature; it is exquisite, profound, and in essence free of defilement. Therefore, the various words and discourses of the thousand sages and ten thousand worthies are all [contingent teachings] intended to bring about transformation; to speak of truth is not itself truth; to speak of transformation is not itself transformation.

Therefore, the genesis point has no name, and it is thus called the "nameless." The genesis point has no attributes, and it is thus called a "nonattribute." But once names and attributes are established, delusion is sure to follow. The principle of the True One is submerged,

and the essential principle of the Way is hidden. Thus, because the nameless unwrought substance permeates all, it cannot be signified; surpassing the finite realm, it is a singular substance free of duality. Therefore, the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma." The imprint is the point of genesis itself. Thus the principle of the point of genesis is neither self nor other, neither singular nor differentiated. It envelops the single pneuma, while fully entering into manifold existence.

The nameless unwrought substance 無名之朴: See the commentary to *Treasure Store Treatise* chapter 1, section 144b11.

Therefore, the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma" 故經云：森羅及萬象一法之所印: This citation is from the *Fa-chü ching*.[51] See the discussion in Chapter 1 of this study and my commentary to section 145b23 of the *Treatise*.

It envelops the single pneuma, while fully entering into manifold existence 包含一氣、該入萬有: Cf. *Chuang-tzu*, chapter 6, in which Confucius lavishes praise on a group of untrammeled sages who gathered for the funeral of Sang-hu: "Even now they have joined with the Creator as men to wander in the single pneuma of heaven and earth" 遊乎天地之一氣.[52] In chapter 22 of the same text, the Yellow Emperor says: "So it is said, You have only to comprehend the single pneuma that is the world. The sage never ceases to value oneness" 故曰通天下一氣耳。聖人故貴一.[53]

The expression "single pneuma," also attested in the *Lieh-tzu* (Kobayashi 1967:46), came to function as a euphemism for the world conceived as a unified and undifferentiated whole. This is the sense in which it appears in the *Chao lun*: "[The sage] views transformation while keeping fixed on the single pneuma, and thus he flows in accord with whatever comes his way" 審一氣以觀化、故所遇而順適. Seng-chao continues a few lines later: "Things and myself share the same root; affirmation and denial are of a single pneuma" 物我同根、是非一氣.[54] These lines from the *Chao lun* may well inform the passage at hand: the *Treasure Store Treatise*, like the *Chao lun*, asserts that while the sage enters fully into the manifold phenomenal world, he continues to hold to the unity—the "single pneuma"—behind the apparent diversity.

148c4 Should there be one who, through the purity of his intrinsic nature, is born embodying the One, free of delusion, such a one is deemed a sage. But at the apex of reality there is no dharma of sagehood, even one as small as a mote of dust, that could be differentiated.

Should there be one who, through the purity of his intrinsic nature, is born embodying the One yet is possessed of deluded thoughts so that his being is beclouded and confused, such a one is deemed an ordinary person. But at the apex of reality there is no dharma of ordinariness, even one as small as a mote of dust, that could be differentiated.

Therefore, the scripture says: "Buddha-nature is uniform, expansive, and difficult to fathom." There is no duality between an ordinary person and a sage. [Buddha-nature] fills everything: it completely suffuses the grass and the trees and fully pervades even the ants. It reaches to even the tiniest mote of dust and to the very tip of a strand of hair; there is nothing that exists that does not embody the One. Therefore, the scripture says: "If you are fully able to know the One, the myriad affairs will all be complete." Therefore, all beings are born within the one vehicle, which is why it is called the Single Vehicle. With confusion there is differentiation, and with awakening there is unity.

The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the ordinary person, and the succeeding instant of thought is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought." Therefore, one is all and all is one, and thus we say that everything is formed into the myriad schemata through the activity of the single dharma.

Therefore, the scripture says: "If everything exists, then the mind exists, which is to be confused. If nothing exists, then there is no mind, which is to pervade the ten directions." Thus the True One is precisely the myriad distinctions, and the myriad distinctions are the True One. It is like the sea, which billows into a thousand waves, but those very waves are the sea itself. Therefore, all is one, without differentiation.

At the apex of reality there is no dharma of sagehood, even one as small as a mote of dust, that could be differentiated 然實際中亦無聖人法、如微塵許而有異也: A similar construction is found in section 14 of the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, an Ox Head work discussed in Chapter 1 of this study: "The teacher asked: 'Why don't you speak?' The student answered: 'I don't see a single dharma, even one as small as a mote of dust, in response to which I might say something' " 我不見一法如微塵許而可對說 (Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976:97b).

[Buddha-nature] fills everything: it completely suffuses the grass and the trees and fully pervades even the ants. It reaches to even the tiniest mote of dust and to the very tip of a strand of hair; there is

nothing that exists that does not embody the One 一切圓滿、咸備草木周遍螻蟻。乃至微塵毛髮。莫不含一而有: This passage is a clear reference to the doctrine that even insentient things possess buddha-nature. This theory, known in short as *wu-ch'ing fo-hsing* 無情佛性 (the buddha-nature of the insentient), was a source of considerable controversy throughout the medieval period, and it functioned as a "wedge issue" in the eighth-century debates between Northern and Southern Ch'an. It is therefore not surprising to encounter a reference to this doctrine in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.[55]

The notion that all sentient beings possess buddha-nature, including even the *icchantika* (*i-ch'an-t'i* 一闡提)—a class of beings traditionally deemed bereft of the potential for buddhahood—was generally accepted by the T'ang period.[56] This position was first championed in the fifth century by Tao-sheng 道生 (d. 434), whose controversial views were vindicated by the 421 translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* by Dharmakṣema (T'an-wu-ch'an 曇無讖, 385–433).[57] But while this recension of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* extended buddha-nature even to the *icchantika*, it unambiguously restricted buddha-nature to the sentient.[58]

The notion that even insentient objects—such as grass, trees, walls and roof tiles—possess buddha-nature as well has its roots in the writings of Ching-ying Hui-yüan, who distinguished between the buddha-nature that abides at all times in all places and the buddha-nature that is actualized in enlightened sentient beings. But Hui-yüan stopped short of explicitly claiming that inanimate objects possess buddha-nature. The first person to do so appears to have been the San-lun exegete Chi-tsang, who argued that the very distinction between sentient and insentient is illegitimate, and thus, if buddha-nature can be said to exist at all, then it must be possessed by both the sentient and the insentient.[59] Such arguments were further developed by T'ien-t'ai scholiasts, notably Chan-jan (711–782), who devoted an entire treatise to the defense and explication of the doctrine.[60]

The issue was a source of considerable controversy in early Ch'an circles. Many early masters, especially those associated with the Northern School, are recorded as affirming the buddha-nature of the insentient: according to the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (Records of the Masters and Disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra*), both the fourth-patriarch Tao-hsin (580–651) and the fifth-patriarch Hung-jen (601–674) held to some version of the doctrine of the buddha-nature of the insentient.[61] The relatively late *Tsung-ching lu* presents Shen-hsiu (605?–706) as advocating the buddha-nature of the insentient as well.[62] But the Ch'an

monk most closely associated with this position is Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (d. 775), who not only taught that insentient things possess buddha-nature but also is credited with the doctrine that insentient things actually "become buddhas and preach the dharma."[63]

Not all Ch'an monks agreed, however; there are a number of Ch'an sources that either explicitly or implicitly deny buddha-nature to insentient things.[64] One of the strongest statements to this effect is found in the record of Ho-tse Shen-hui (684–758), champion of the Southern School:

> Ch'an Master Yüan of Ox Head Mountain asked: "[You say that] buddha-nature permeates all sentient things and does not permeate all insentient things. I heard a venerable elder say:
>
> Lush groves of emerald bamboos,
> Are wholly the dharma-body.
> Luxuriant clusters of chrysanthemums,
> Nothing is not *prajñā*.
> 青青翠竹盡是法身。鬱鬱黃苛无非般若.[65]
>
> Now why do you say that [buddha-nature] only permeates sentient things and does not permeate insentient things?"
>
> [Shen-hui] answered: "Surely you do not mean that the merit of lush groves of emerald bamboos equals that of the dharma-body or that the wisdom of luxuriant clusters of chrysanthemums is the same as *prajñā*? If the groves of bamboos and chrysanthemums are equal to the dharma-body and to *prajñā*, then in which sūtra does the Tathāgata make the prophecy of an emerald bamboo or a chrysanthemum attaining *bodhi*? The notion that emerald bamboos and chrysanthemums are the same as the dharma-body and *prajñā* is a heterodox doctrine. Why so? Because the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* says: 'That which lacks buddha-nature is deemed an insentient thing.'"[66]

Shen-hui's interlocutor is associated with Ox Head teachings, and there is indeed evidence that Ox Head Ch'an, which evolved under the influence of San-lun, supported the doctrine of the buddha-nature of the insentient. The *Chüeh-kuan lun*, an Ox Head work likely composed around the same time as the *Treasure Store Treatise*, contains the following extended exchange on the topic:

> Gateway asks, "Is the Way found only in things that have mind, or does it reside in grass and trees as well?" Attainment says, "There is no place the Way does not pervade." [Gateway] asks, "If the Way is pervasive, why is it a crime to kill a person, whereas it is not a crime to kill grass and trees?" [Attainment] answers, "Talk of whether it is a crime or not is a matter related to sentience and is thus not the true Way. It is only

> that worldly people have not attained the truth of the Way and falsely believe in a personal self; thus the notion of killing entails the presence of mind. Mind is bound up with karma, and thus we speak of it as a crime. Grass and trees have no sentience and are thus originally in accord with the Way. As they are free of a self, we do not reckon it killing, and thus we do not argue over whether it is a crime or not....
>
> [Gateway] asks, "If grass and trees have long been in accord with the Way, why do the scriptures not record instances of grass or trees becoming buddhas but only of persons [becoming buddhas]?" [Attainment] answers, "They do not only record persons but record grass and trees [becoming buddhas] as well. A scripture says, 'A single mote of dust contains all dharmas.' Another says, 'All dharmas are suchness; all sentient beings are also suchness.'"[67]

On the one hand, the *Chüeh-kuan lun* affirms that, from a worldly perspective, grass and trees are insentient. But precisely because they lack mind and sentience and thus have no thought of "me" or "mine," grass and trees are "in accord with the Way." The way to buddhahood is the way of insentience: buddha-nature is realized through putting an end to discernment (*chüeh-kuan*) and becoming mindless (*wu-hsin*), a position that is fully consonant with the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

There was also an eighth-century Taoist variant of the doctrine of the buddha-nature of the insentient, namely, the doctrine that all things possess the "nature of the Tao." This position is described in chapter 29 of the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, a text associated, with Twofold Mystery Taoism: "Everything that bears consciousness, down to and including animals, fruit, trees, and stones, possesses the nature of the Tao" 一切含識、乃至畜生果木石者、皆有道性也.[68]

The *Treasure Store Treatise* advocacy of the buddha-nature of insentient objects is thus consistent with the thesis developed in Chapter 1, namely, that the *Treasure Store Treatise* emerged from an intellectual and literary environment dominated by San-lun, Ox Head, and Twofold Mystery teachings.

The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the ordinary person, and the succeeding instant of thought is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought" 經云:前念是凡、後念是聖。又云:一念知一切法也: The source of the quotation is unknown, although the second sentence may be drawn from *Vimalakīrti*: "To know all things in a single instant of thought is the locus of the Way, since it brings all knowledge to perfection" 一念知一切法是道場、成就一切智故.[69] A similar passage is found in the *Plat-*

form Sutra, a text that dates to the same period as the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "Those who awaken to this Dharma have awakened to the Dharma of *prajñā* and are practicing the *prajñā* practice. If you do not practice it you are an ordinary person; if you practice for one instant of thought, your Dharma body will be the same as the Buddha's. Good friends, the very passions are themselves enlightenment. *When past thoughts are deluded, this is the common man; when future thoughts are awakened to, this is Buddha*" 捉前念迷即凡、後念悟即佛.[70]

The terms "preceding instant of thought" (*ch'ien-nien* 前念) and "succeeding instant of thought" (*hou-nien* 後念) are found in a variety of Chinese scholastic treatises and commentaries, typically in discussions concerning the nature of the causal connection between one moment of perception (*ch'a-na* 剎那, Sk. *kṣaṇa*) and the next.[71] In San-lun and T'ien-t'ai related works, the terms appear in critiques of the notion that a causal interrelation or continuity can be established between two succeeding moments of thought. Thus, thought itself is declared to be unborn or unarisen.[72] The passage at hand—"The preceding instant of thought is the ordinary person, and the succeeding instant of thought is the sage"—reiterates the ultimate nonduality between an unenlightened and an enlightened being, and affirms the possibility of enlightenment attained in a single instant.

It is like the sea, which billows into a thousand waves, but those very waves are the sea itself 譬如海湧千波、千波即海: This is a common metaphor for describing the relationship between principle and phenomena (*li* and *shih*), between pure mind and the manifest world, and so on. See, for example, the *Awakening of Faith in the Great Vehicle* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun*):

> The characteristics of ignorance are not separate from the nature of awakening, and thus they are not something that can either be destroyed or not destroyed. It is like the water of the great sea, which is blown into waves by the wind. The characteristics of the water and the waves are inseparable, yet the nature of movement does not inhere in water. Thus when the wind ceases, so too does the movement, but the nature of wetness is not thereby diminished. 無明之相不離覺性、非可壞非不可壞。如大海水因風波動、水相風相不相捨離、而水非動性。若風止滅動相則滅、濕性不壞故.

> As for cessation, it is only the attributes of mind that cease, not the essence of mind. It is like wind: the [visible] marks of its movement depend on [the existence of] water. If the water disappears, then the

marks of the wind disappear as well, as they have no support. If the water remains, then the marks of the wind continue unabated. When the wind ceases, although the marks of its movement cease as well, this is not the cessation of the water. 所言滅者。唯心相滅非心體滅。如風依水而有動相。若水滅者則風相斷絕無所依止。以水不滅風相相續。唯風滅故動相隨滅非是水滅.[73]

148c18 **We speak of oneness in contradistinction to difference. But since difference is not different [with respect to itself], oneness is also not one. That which is neither one nor not one is contingently called the True One.**

The True One is not something that can be explained in words. Therefore, the One is not perceived by the One, for if it could be perceived, there would be two, and it would not be called the True One. Nor can we speak of knowing the One, for if the One knew the One, then it would be called "two" rather than One. If there were something known, then there would be something not known, and knowing and not knowing would make two. Therefore, great knowledge is without knowing and yet nothing is left unknown. It shines forth as eternal knowing. Although eternal knowing is free of knowing, it is contingently styled "knowing." It is neither subject nor object, neither mind nor intention.

The numerous conditioned dharmas constitute things that are known. As for the unconditioned dharma, it is like unbounded empty space, neither known nor not known.

When the sages speak of knowing, they refer to that which can be known because it is sentient, is enumerable, is conditioned, or is a dharma. When they speak of the unknown, they refer to that which cannot be known because it lacks sentience, is not enumerable, is not conditioned, and is not a dharma. It is meaningless to suppose that knowing can know the unknown. It is as if a person were to talk incessantly of emptiness—it is still only a person talking *about* emptiness, it is not emptiness itself. It is just the same with the notion that knowing can know the unknown.

The reason that some sages may speak of themselves as "knowing" is that, in encountering the confusion [of others], they respond appropriately to the situation, dispelling illness and eliminating doubt, but in reality there is no duality between knowing and nonknowing. [The sages] speak of nonknowing for the sake of the ignorant who do not comprehend the True One, who are attached to "me" and to "mine," and who falsely contrive both a "knower" and a "known." Therefore, they speak of nonknowing and nondiscrimination. The ignorant hear this and take up the study of nonknowing. They are like simpletons who are incapable of making distinctions. Because of such delusion the sages then say that the Tathāgata's lucid knowledge and vision is not not knowing. The ignorant hear this and take up the study of knowing. But from knowing comes the obstruction of knowing, which is also called "vapid

knowledge" or "deluded knowledge." This sort of knowledge is counterproductive and is not the Way. Therefore, the scripture says: "If living beings associate with evil companions, it will increase their evil views." Why so? The heretics may have foreknowledge of the future and recollection of the past, and they may presently know body and mind, but their bodies and minds remain impure, and thus they do not escape life and death.

As for all those who cultivate nonknowing, they spurn knowing in their pursuit of nonknowing, but since this nonknowing is precisely something [they wish to] know, they are unaware of their own knowing. There are also those who spurn nonknowing in their pursuit of knowing, but with knowing comes awareness, and with awareness the mind begets a myriad concerns and the intellect gives rise to hundreds of ideas. In the end there is no freedom from suffering. Thus neither of these two conceptions of knowing will allow one to suffuse the void while remaining in this very body or to mystically commune with the absolute principle, and thus they do not reach true reality.

True reality transcends both knowing and nonknowing and is beyond measure and reckoning. The act of seeing establishes location, the act of hearing establishes an object, awareness establishes mind, and knowing establishes value. But none [of these faculties] can apprehend the point of genesis, which lacks location, object, mind, or value, and thus cannot be seen, heard, perceived, or known. Therefore, the True One is nondual, yet its manifestations are diverse.

Great knowledge is without knowing and yet nothing is left unknown 大智無知而無不知: Cf. *Tao-te ching* 37: "The Way never acts, yet nothing is left undone" 道常無爲而無不爲.

149a21 **Let us suppose a person contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears, or contemplates the *saṃgha* and the *saṃgha* appears. It is actually neither Buddha nor is it not Buddha, and yet it appears as Buddha. Likewise it is neither the *saṃgha* nor is it not the *saṃgha*, and yet it appears as the *saṃgha*. Why so? It appears because of that person's desire [for such a vision] while contemplating. Such people are unaware that the visions are products of their own minds. Sacred phenomena arise through conditions, but they are projected onto an external objective realm, whereby there is differentiation. In reality there is no Buddha and no *saṃgha* to differentiate. Therefore, the scripture says: "When you look upon all the buddha-lands and the Buddhas' physical bodies, there is great diversity, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom."**

It is like a magician who, through the power of his magical techniques, creates all variety of colored images in the midst of the empty sky. His magic confuses people, and they believe that these things really were there in the sky. Contemplating the Buddha and the *saṃgha*

is just like this; by the power of the techniques of contemplation, all variety of physical characteristics appear in the midst of empty dharmas, giving rise to deluded views. Therefore, the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses are their companions, and deluded thought observes this troupe of performers."

It is as if a person were to make himself molds in a great forge—some square, some round, some large, and some small—all to suit his fancy. He then pours molten gold into his molds, forming images. In this manner the gold is cast into images, but in truth there is only molten gold, which is neither the image nor not the image, and yet it manifests as an image. The practice of contemplating the Buddha and the *saṃgha* is just like this. The one with great skill in molding gold is analogous to the Tathāgata, and the molds for the dharma-body are analogous to living beings. In their longing to attain buddhahood, they contemplate the Buddha, and from the coalescence of causes and conditions, the various attributes of the [Buddha's] body arise, but the dharma-body is neither an attribute nor not an attribute. What does it mean to say that it is not an attribute? [It means that] it is originally free of fixed attributes. What does it mean to say that it is not not an attribute? [It means that] various attributes do conditionally arise. Therefore, the dharma-body is neither manifest nor not manifest. It transcends both intrinsic nature and the absence of intrinsic nature, it is neither existent nor nonexistent, and it is devoid of mind and intention. It cannot be measured against any standard. It is only that the ordinary person, following the [caprice] of his own mind, gives rise to the thought of seeing the Buddha. Having always believed that the Buddha exists outside his own mind, he does not understand that it is through the coalescence of his own mind that [the Buddha] comes into being.

Or there may be one who has always believed that there is no Buddha outside the mind, but this is to slander the true dharma. Therefore, the scripture says: "The holy realm transcends both nonexistence and non-nonexistence and is not something that can be designated or reckoned." To cling to either existence or nonexistence is [to fall into one of the] two extremes, which is to be deluded. Why so? Both views [of existence and nonexistence] are born of delusion and contravene the true principle.

Let us suppose a person contemplates the Buddha and the Buddha appears or contemplates the *saṃgha* and the *saṃgha* appears 或復有人念佛佛現、念僧僧現: Reference to the practice of "contemplating the *saṃgha*" (*nien-seng* 念僧, Sk. *saṃghānusmṛti*) is rarely found in isolation. Instead, it typically appears as one of the contemplations on the "three treasures" (*san-pao* 三寶), i.e., the Buddha, the dharma, and the *saṃgha*.[74] Somewhat less commonly one finds "contemplation of the *saṃgha*" listed as the third item in variant groupings of six,

eight, and ten contemplations,[75] and the Divākara translation of the *Lalitavistara* places it third on a list of 108 "gates to the dharma" (*fa-men* 法門).[76] In each instance, the practice entails the recollection or mindfulness of the virtues and meritorious qualities of the community of the Buddha's disciples, and in no case is *nien-seng* explicitly associated with the intent to conjure a specific "vision." I am not aware of any precedent for the particular coupling of *nien-fo* and *nien-seng* found here in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

Therefore, the scripture says: "When you look upon all the buddha-lands and the Buddhas' physical bodies, there is great diversity, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom" 故經云：彼見諸佛國土及以色身而有若干、其無礙慧無若干也: This is a somewhat abbreviated quote from the *Vimalakīrti*: "Ānanda, when you look upon all the buddha-lands, the lands appear diverse, but the sky is devoid of any such diversity. In the same way, when you look upon the physical bodies of all the Buddhas, there is diversity, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom" 阿難：汝見諸佛國土地有若干、而虛空無若干也。如是見諸佛色身有若干耳、其無礙慧無若干也.[77]

Therefore, the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses are their companions, and deluded thought observes this troupe of performers" 故經云：心如工伎兒、意如和伎者、五識爲伴侶、妄想觀伎衆: This quotation is taken from the T'ang translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.[78] See Chapter 1 for a full discussion of the significance of this quotation for the dating of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

It is as if a person were to make himself molds in a great forge 譬如有人於大冶邊自作模樣: The image may be an allusion to the swordsmith mentioned in *Chuang-tzu* 6; see the commentary to chapter 2, section 147b29.

True principle 眞理: The term, which also appears in the *Wu-hsin lun*,[79] is typically used in Buddhist contexts to refer to the buddha-dharma (App 1995b:86 n. 77), but in the *Treasure Store Treatise* the term "true principle" seems to have more metaphysical overtones; see also below, 150a10.

149b16 Suppose there is a person completely enclosed within a golden vessel who continually discerns the substance of the gold and never notices the various attributes. And should he notice the attributes, he knows them to be undifferentiated gold. Since he is not misled by the attributes, he has transcended distinctions. To continually discern the substance of the gold is to be free from falsehood. The true man can be likened to such a person; he always discerns the True One without noticing the various attributes. And should he notice the attributes, he knows them to be the True One. Far removed from deluded thought and free from perversion, he abides at the apex of true reality and is known as a sage.

Suppose there is another person completely enclosed within a golden vessel who continually perceives the many attributes but never notices the substance of the gold. He distinguishes between good and bad, and, giving rise to a variety of views, he loses [sight of the] nature of the gold itself, which in turn leads to rancorous disputes. The ignorant are just like this; they are always discerning physical attributes such as "man" and "woman," "beautiful" and "ugly," which give rise to all variety of distinctions. They are confused with regard to [their] original nature and cling tightly to the creations of mind. They grasp at what they love and reject what they hate, giving rise to all sorts of perversions. They drift through the rounds of life and death, reborn into various different bodies. Hedged in by deluded thought, the True One is concealed. Therefore, the gentleman who cherishes the Way is a master of penetrating insight; his depth of discernment places him at far remove from the common crowd. He is in harmonious accord with the True One and resonates with the principle.

It is difficult to explain the True One; while we rely on analogy to make it known, ultimately the essential principle of the Way is not something that can be revealed in words.

When the eye produces sight, it begets the perversion of sight. When the eye produces no sight, it begets the perversion of no sight. In either case there is delusion. If you cling to seeing, you will be ignorant of what is not seen, and the sight you have prevents you from reaching the vision of the wondrous. Therefore, the scripture says: "No eye and no form, and yet there is still confused vision." To produce no sight is to lose the true eye. It is like a person who, born blind, is unable to distinguish colors. Therefore, the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed and who thus is no longer able to benefit from the five desires." It is likewise the case for all of the *śrāvaka*s. Only a tathāgata attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in *samādhi* viewing all buddha-lands without any mark of duality. Therefore, [what is seen by a tathāgata] is different from what is seen by ordinary persons. And seeing all, [a tathāgata] differs from a *śrāvaka*, who sees nothing at all. Those two views [of ordinary persons and *śrāvaka*s] are the deluded views of existence and nonexistence.

> **Therefore, within the True One there is essentially no existence or nonexistence; existence and nonexistence are predicated solely on the basis of deluded thought.**

Vision of the wondrous (*miao-chien* 妙見): This compound appears in Buddhist materials as a name for the constellation Ursa Major or, alternatively, the bodhisattva known as Miao-chien p'u-sa 妙見菩薩 who resides there.[80] The immediate context does not warrant reading *miao-chien* as a proper noun, although a double entendre is not out of the question.

Therefore, the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed and who thus is no longer able to benefit from the five desires" 故經云：譬如根敗之士其於五欲、不能復利: This is from the *Vimalakīrti*, where Mahākāśyapa proclaims:

> Those who labor under the defilements are of a kind with the Tathāgata, while we [*śrāvaka*s] are now no longer able to give rise to a mind set on supreme awakening. Even those who have committed the five heinous crimes are yet able to give rise to the thought of attaining the buddha-dharma, yet we are forevermore unable to give rise [to such a thought]. It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed, and thus he is no longer able to benefit from the five desires. Likewise, the *śrāvaka*s, who have severed [all bonds], are no longer able to benefit from the buddha-dharma and are forever unable to give rise to the desire [to attain it].[81]

The passage goes on to elevate the common person over the *śrāvaka*; *śrāvaka*s are no longer subject to the transformative power of either the defilements (Sk. *kleśa*) or the buddha-dharma, since they have severed the roots of both. The five desires are those associated with the objects of each of the five senses.

Only a tathāgata attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in *samādhi* viewing all buddha-lands without any mark of duality 唯其如來得眞天眼。常在三昧悉見諸佛國土不以二相: These lines are found almost verbatim in chapter 3 of the *Vimalakīrti*, in a passage in which Aniruddha recalls being reproached by Vimalakīrti for boasting of the powers of his divine eye:

> Vimalakīrti appeared and said: "Yo, Aniruddha, that which is seen by your divine eye—does it occasion attributes or not? If you suppose that it occasions attributes, then it is the same as the five supernatural powers of the heretics. If it does not occasion attributes, then [this eye] is

> inactive and incapable of perception.… [Only] the Buddha, the World-Honored One, attains the true divine eye. He continually abides in *samādhi*, viewing all buddha-lands without any mark of duality. 唯阿那律 : 天眼所見爲作相耶無作相耶。假使作相則與外道五通等。若無作相即是無爲不應有見 … 有佛世尊得眞天眼。常在三昧悉見諸佛國不以二相.[82]

In the Tibetan text of this passage, the central issue is whether or not the divine eye itself is conditioned—whether or not it possesses attributes. In either case, Aniruddha finds himself in the midst of a dilemma: if the divine eye is conditioned, it must be mundane and of a kind with the divine eye possessed by accomplished adepts among the heretics. Yet if it is unconditioned, it cannot give rise to vision of any sort (Lamotte 1976:67–68 and n. 60). In Kumārajīva's Chinese text the question concerns that which is seen by the divine eye, rather than the nature of the eye itself. But the grammar in both Kumārajīva's text and the *Treasure Store Treatise* is ambiguous, which may indicate that the Chinese did not clearly distinguish between the divine eye and divine vision.

The "divine eye" (*t'ien-yen* 天眼, Sk. *divyacakṣus*) occurs in most Buddhist lists of supernormal powers (*abhijñā*). Although it is possessed by a buddha, it may also be attained by non-Buddhist adepts, resulting in the doctrinal ambiguity exploited by Vimalakīrti (see Lamotte 1976:67 n. 59). Vimalakīrti concludes with the assertion that the *true* divine eye—the eye of nonduality—is the possession of a buddha alone.

149c10 **The sage may say that he sees with utter clarity, or he may say that he does not see at all. But he only speaks of seeing or not seeing in order to dispel the illness [of ignorance]. Thus the principle of the True One transcends both seeing and not seeing, exceeds the realm of the finite, and surpasses the ranks of the ordinary person and the sage. Thus to see with utter clarity is not to be deluded. As [the True One] is not a material dharma, it cannot be seen with the physical eye. As it is not a realizable dharma, it cannot be seen with the dharma-eye. Only with the clarity of the buddha-eye—neither seeing nor not seeing—is it seen with utter clarity. It is inconceivable and unfathomable [and thus eludes] the crude capacities of ordinary people, the mustard-seed [analyses] of those of the two vehicles, and the refined silken gauze of the bodhisattvas. Therefore, know that buddha-nature is difficult to perceive. Nevertheless, the scripture says: "Buddha-nature extends everywhere, without regard for whether one is an ordinary person or a sage." One need only realize the True One within one's own body; what need is there to seek outside? Deeply ponder it**

both day and night, and the inner mind will realize it of itself. Therefore, the scripture says: "Discern the real attribute of the body, and discern the Buddha in like manner."

This real attribute of the body that is discerned is precisely the single attribute, and the single attribute is the attribute of emptiness. As it is empty and devoid of attributes, it is neither defiled nor pure, neither ordinary nor sagely, neither existent nor nonexistent, neither false nor correct. Essential nature is always indwelling, and neither arising nor passing away, it is the point of genesis. The reason the dharma-body of a tathāgata, including his eyes, ears, nose, and tongue, indeed all of the faculties of his body and mind, functions reciprocally [with all things] is that its essence is the True One. It cannot be measured or divided, and thus the dharma-body permeates everything without obstruction.

The reason that the eyes, ears, and all of the [other] faculties of the ordinary person lack the power of penetration, and thus do not function reciprocally [with all things], is that the sense faculties are enshrouded within the sphere of deluded discrimination. The pure spirit is bounded, divided, and fails to penetrate, there is ignorance of the principle of the True One, and thus [they do not] function reciprocally [with all things]. Therefore, the scripture says: "The consciousness of the ordinary person is beguiled and deluded, and fails to penetrate." There is grasping and attachment to the senses and their objects, giving rise to all variety of distinctions. Therefore, the sages fully penetrate the True One, and there is no sphere of mental delusion to enshroud their perception. Therefore, [the sage] is able to function together [with all things] without any mental reckoning.

Physical eye, dharma-eye, and buddha-eye 肉眼 , 法眼 , 佛眼: See the commentary to chapter 2, section 147b9.

[It thus eludes] the crude capacities of ordinary people, the mustard-seed [analyses] of those of the two vehicles, and the refined silken gauze of the bodhisattvas 凡夫絶分、二乘芥子、菩薩羅縠: The translation is tentative; the author appears to refer to three different ways of taking measure of the world, associated with three ascending categories of beings. While the distinctions employed by common folk remain relatively crude, the distinctions wielded by the Hīnayāna disciples are finer and more numerous; the allusion to mustard seeds may refer to the Hīnayāna analysis of phenomena in terms of irreducible constituent parts or dharmas. (The mustard seed is sometimes used in Abhidharma texts as a measure for the very small or the very numerous, and in Mahāyāna materials it similarly represents something very tiny.)[83] Finally, the distinctions employed by the bodhisattvas

are likened to the finest silken gauze, known as *lo-hu* 羅縠. This material, used to make the robes of celestial bodhisattvas, is so delicate as to be all but transparent to the eye.[84] Ultimately all distinctions, however fine, must be abandoned.

Therefore, the scripture says: "Discern the real attribute of the body, and discern the Buddha in like manner" 故經云：觀身寔相觀佛亦然: This is from the *Vimalakīrti*:

> At that time the World-Honored One asked Vimalakīrti: You desire to see the Tathāgata, but how do you go about discerning the Tathāgata? Vimalakīrti replied: Just as I discern the real attributes of my own body, I discern the Buddha in like manner. I discern that the Tathāgata does not come from the past, nor does he go to the future, nor does he abide in the present. I do not discern [the Tathāgata] in form, or in the suchness of form, or in the nature of form. I do not discern [the Tathāgata] in perceptions, conceptions, impulses or consciousness, or in the suchness of consciousness, or in the nature of consciousness. He does not arise with the four elements, and he is the same as the empty sky.[85]

The same quote is found in the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, also in a section concerning the meaning of *nien-fo*.[86] The quote in isolation tends to place the emphasis on contemplation of one's own body, while the full passage in the *Vimalakīrti* emphasizes the emptiness of the body of a buddha.

Pure spirit (*ching-shen* 精神): This term appears in a variety of classical Chinese texts, perhaps the earliest extant reference being the *Chuang-tzu*:

> Pure Spirit 精神 reaches in the four directions, flows now this way, now that—there is no place it does not extend to. Above, it brushes Heaven; below, it coils on the earth. It transforms and nurses the ten thousand things, but no one can make out its form. Its name is called One-with-Heaven. The way to purity and whiteness is to guard the spirit 唯神是守, this alone; guard it and never lose it, and you will become one with spirit, one with its pure essence, which communicates and mingles with the Heavenly Order. The common saying has it, "The ordinary man prizes gain, the man of integrity prizes name, the worthy man honors ambition, the sage values spiritual essence."[87]

There is also an interesting reference to pure spirit in the *Lieh-tzu*, where it is understood as the immaterial aspect of human beings, as opposed to the corporeal body:

> The pure spirit is the share of heaven, while the bones and flesh are the share of earth. The things that belong to heaven are clear and dispersed, while the things that belong to earth are turbid and agglomerated. When pure spirit departs from the [bodily] form, each returns [*kuei* 歸] to its true [aspect]. Therefore, they are called ghosts [*kuei* 鬼]. The ghost is that which returns—they return to their true home. The Yellow Emperor said: "My pure spirit enters the gate, while my bones and flesh return to their root. What could remain of me?"[88]

The pure spirit is sometimes equated with the primordial pneuma (*yüan-ch'i* 元氣), the seminal pneuma (*ching-ch'i* 精氣), or the mind itself.[89] The *Treasure Store Treatise* seems to use the term in the latter, more general sense—as a prosaic synonym for mind or consciousness.

150a1 **Why is it called the True One? It is because it is truly devoid of differentiation. Since [the True One] is devoid of differentiation, the myriad things, which arise holding to the One, are also One. Why so? Since the origin is One, there is no duality. It is like a sandalwood tree sprouting a sandalwood branch; [the sandalwood tree] will never sprout a camellia branch. Thus the True One is known by many names and epithets, but in the end those names and epithets all mean the same thing. Some speak of "dharma-nature," or "dharma-body," or "true suchness," or "apex of reality," or "emptiness," or "buddha-nature," or "nirvāṇa," or "dharma-realm," and so on, including "point of genesis" and "matrix of the tathāgata"—the names are innumerable, but they are all different names for the True One; they all evoke the same meaning. And the same is true of the previous three chapters [of this treatise].**

Why is [the first chapter] called "The Chapter on Broad Illumination"? It is because the mirror of knowledge is vast and penetrating, and the sun of wisdom is perfectly illuminating. It envelops the principle of all things and clearly discerns the myriad numina. Therefore, it is called "broadly illuminating." Why is [the second chapter] called "The Chapter on Transcendence and Subtlety"? It is because inherent nature encompasses the true principle and reaches to the mysterious source. The apex of reality is empty, originally pure, and untainted, and thus it is called transcendent and subtle. Why is [the third chapter] called "The Chapter on the Point of Genesis"? It is because the wondrous principle of heaven's truth is essentially lustrous without cultivation; inherent nature penetrates everywhere, embracing the myriad things. Thus it is called the Chapter on the Point of Genesis. Therefore, the previous three chapters collectively encompass a single meaning, yet the functions that issue forth are inexhaustible, and thus the whole work is titled "The Treasure Store." It expounds on the treasury of the dense array of meanings and discourses on the source of sentient things. [It enables one to] clearly comprehend Great Clarity

and mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle. One who perfects it coalesces with the True One. One who understands it has esoteric knowledge of mysterious powers. Therefore, it illuminates the suchness of the dharma-realm and reveals the essentials of the Great Way.

The Treasure Store Treatise (finis)

Mysteriously tally with the wondrous principle 陰符妙理: While the syntax warrants reading *yin-fu* 陰符 as verbal ("mysteriously tally"), the compound can also refer to "military contracts" (*PWYF* 1.277a) or "esoteric [religious] talismans" and can be read in all these ways in the title of the *Huang-ti yin-fu ching* 黃帝陰符經 (Scripture of the Mysterious Tally of the Yellow Emperor). This latter text was esteemed among both military strategists and Taoist writers, and it appears to have been particularly important in the *nei-tan* 內丹 (inner alchemy) tradition of the T'ang.[90] If there is a mild double entendre at work here, then the characterization of the *Treasure Store Treatise* as a "mysterious tally" makes explicit that which is already implied in the title of the treatise: the *pao* of *Pao-tsang lun* invokes the mysterious and powerful talismans bestowed by heaven on the ruling family. In the present case the mysterious tally holds the power to reveal the Tao itself: one who possesses it is conjoined with the "True One" and awakened to "mysterious penetration," "the suchness of the dharma-realm," and "the essentials of the Great Way."

Great Clarity 太清: See my commentary to chapter 1, section 145b23.

True One 眞一: See my commentary to chapter 1, section 143c7.

Heaven's truth 天眞: See my commentary to chapter 1, section 145b13.

Appendix 1

On Esoteric Buddhism in China

There is considerable disagreement, if not confusion, among scholars regarding how to define or characterize Buddhist Tantra, but I will resist reviewing the literature here.[1] My immediate concerns lie with Tantra in China, a tradition that poses its own particular set of historical and intellectual problems. Indeed, scholars are often at a loss as to what to call it, alternating somewhat indiscriminately between Chen-yen tsung 眞言宗 (Mantra School), Mi-chiao tsung 密教宗 (Esoteric School), Yü-ch'ieh tsung 瑜伽宗 (Yoga School), Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna, Tantra, and so on.[2] Irrespective of the issue of nomenclature, scholars in both Asia and the West seem confident that such a school existed; that it reached its apogee in the T'ang with the teachings of Śubhakarasiṃha (Shan-wu-wei 善無畏, 637–735), Vajrabodhi (Chin-kang-chih 金剛智, 671–741), and Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ung 不空, 705–774); and that it quickly faded a generation or so following the passing of those eminent Indian patriarchs. Most would agree that the school is distinguished first and foremost by its emphasis on the incantation of potent Sanskrit formulae known as mantra and *dhāraṇī*.[3] The incantations are frequently used in conjunction with icons, *maṇḍala*, altars, and other sacramental paraphernalia in the performance of elaborate rites directed toward the invocation of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and sundry other deities. These rituals are intended to elicit divine blessings, supernatural powers, and/or liberative wisdom, although they are also employed in response to exigencies: to make rain, cure an illness, defeat an enemy, protect the emperor's health, and so on. Some scholars see invocation, worship, and meditative communion with deities in elaborately scripted ceremonies (Sk. *sādhana*) as the central characteristic of Buddhist Tantra.[4] Others suggest that an equally salient and perhaps defining feature of this tradition is the

trope of sacred kingship, prominent in Tantric mythology, doctrine, and consecration rituals.[5]

The problem with characterizing Tantric or Esoteric Buddhism in this manner, at least in the case of China, is that the use of *dhāraṇī*, mantra, and the invocation of deities, coupled with a quest for divine grace and thaumaturgical powers have been a staple of Chinese Buddhist monastic practice since its inception. As early as 1918, Ōmura Seigai, in his pioneering tome on the development of East Asian Esoteric Buddhism, identified as bearing on Chinese esoterism over eight hundred Chinese texts, many of which are not normally classified as "esoteric" by sectarian historiographers and bibliographers (Ōmura 1972). These texts, selected primarily because of their emphasis on mantra and *dhāraṇī*, include works associated with every major translator and exegetical tradition in Chinese history, beginning with scriptures dating to the dawn of Chinese Buddhism in the Eastern Han.

In Chapter 2 of this study I noted the importance of invocation rites in Chinese monastic practice, with special reference to one of the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures transmitted to China, the *Pan-chou san-mei ching* (Sk. **Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*). This early text, not normally classified as "esoteric," is by no means unusual. Note, for example, the centrality of invocation in the so-called *kuan-ching* 觀經, or "discernment sūtras," a group of scriptures that played an important role in the evolution of T'ien-t'ai and Pure Land praxis. These scriptures describe elaborate invocation procedures involving the use of icons, mantra, visualization, and other elements often associated with Tantra.[6] Moreover, they promise that the procedures described will in short order eradicate even the most intractable evil karma as well as cure sickness and ward off calamities—claims that are again commonly linked with esoterism. Yet the discernment sūtras appeared in China in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, well before the purported Tantric transmissions of the T'ang. With a single exception, these scriptures were never classified as "esoteric."[7]

In order to unravel some of the ambiguities and confusions that attend discussions of Chinese Tantra, I will begin with the legacy of Japanese sectarian historiography.[8] There are two major traditions of esoteric teachings (*mikkyō* 密教) in Japan, Shingon (known as Tōmitsu 東密) and Tendai (Taimitsu 台密), both of which view themselves as the culmination of a continuous transmission going back to India via the patriarchs Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra.[9] Both schools make a fundamental distinction between the esoteric teachings,

which are their own exclusive preserve, and the relatively inferior "exoteric teachings" (*kengyō* 顯教), a term that subsumes in a single stroke all other forms of Buddhism.

The Japanese distinction between esoteric and exoteric can be traced back to the writings of Kūkai 空海 (779–835), the founder of Japanese Shingon. For Kūkai the distinction was part of a polemical "tenet classification" (J. *hangyō*, C. *p'an-chiao* 判教) intended to demonstrate the superiority of his own approach to the dharma.[10] Esoteric teachings are unsurpassed, according to Kūkai, because they alone are based on the teachings of the *dharmakāya*-buddha Mahāvairocana, as opposed to the *nirmāṇakāya*-buddha Śākyamuni, and because they are structured around the cosmology of the two realms (J. *ryōkai* 兩界 or *ryōbu* 兩部)—the Diamond Realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界, Sk. *vajradhātu*) and the Matrix Realm (*taizōkai* 胎藏界, Sk. *garbhadhātu*)—as expressed in their corresponding scriptures, *maṇḍala*, and rituals.[11] Moreover, esoteric teachings are distinguished through their use of *mudrā*, *dhāraṇī*/mantra, and visualization in order to actualize the three mysteries (J. *sanmitsu* 三密 , i.e., the body, speech, and mind of the tathāgatas) to bring about the realization of buddhahood in the here-and-now.

Later Shingon exegetes recognized that the distinction between esoteric and exoteric was more than a little problematic. There were, for example, any number of texts and rituals that did not formally belong to the *kongōkai* or *taizōkai* cycle yet were treated as an integral part of the esoteric curriculum by Kūkai and his followers. Many texts that were replete with characteristically "esoteric" elements, including incantations and *maṇḍala*, were well known in Japan before Kūkai's trip to the continent or predated the esoteric transmissions of the T'ang, thus confounding the task of classification. Shingon apologists were thus compelled to introduce yet another distinction, this time between "pure esoterism" (J. *seijun mikkyō* 正純密教 or, more commonly, *junmitsu* 純密), and "mixed," "miscellaneous," or "diffuse esoterism" (J. *zōbu mikkyō* 雜部密教 or *zōmitsu* 雜密). Pure esoterism consists exclusively of texts and transmissions associated with the *kongōkai* and *taizōkai* initiations that Kūkai supposedly received in China. The latter "mixed" category was a convenient catchall for scriptures and rituals that possessed esoteric elements—instructions in the use of *dhāraṇī* and mantra, *maṇḍala*, ritual altars, and so on—yet were associated with Śākyamuni rather than Mahāvairocana, or had no connection to the *kongōkai* and *taizōkai* cycles, or had no connection with

the transmissions of Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra, or were known in Japan before Kūkai's voyage to China, or what have you.

This distinction came to assume a pivotal role in contemporary discussions of East Asian Tantric history, as it allowed scholars to distinguish the specific teachings transmitted to Japan by Kūkai from the host of miscellaneous practices with which they might be confused. Shortly after Ōmura Seigai published his monumental study of East Asian esoterism, for example, sectarian Shingon scholars, including Katō Seishin, Kawaguchi Ekai, and Gonda Raifu, lined up to attack his work. Ōmura's error, it would seem, lay in his failure to distinguish properly between pure and miscellaneous Tantra. Ōmura's detractors do little more than rehearse traditional Shingon readings of the textual record, privileging materials, including Indian and Tibetan texts, that they deem part of the *junmitsu* tradition.[12] Building on the theme, Toganoo's influential history of esoteric Buddhism, published in 1933, foregrounds the pure-miscellaneous distinction, arguing that only with pure esoterism can one speak of an independent esoteric school in China.[13]

Japanese sectarian scholars invoked the dichotomy to distinguish their own "pure" tradition from the plethora of soteriologically deficient "miscellaneous" practices with which it might be confounded. While Western scholars generally deny complicity in Japanese sectarian agendas, they have, nonetheless, found this distinction useful. Michel Strickmann, for example, believed that scholars had misrepresented Chinese religion by their overemphasis on the writings of the scholastic elite, and as a corrective he turned his attention to a wide variety of materials that he associated with Tantra in general and miscellaneous or "proto-Tantra" (*ésotérisme éclectique* or *prototantrisme*) in particular. This is the unifying theme of his erudite study *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine*, which covers a vast range of religious phenomena sometimes dismissed as "magic" or "superstition" in the West, including possession and exorcism, astrology and divination, deity cults and the veneration of vivified icons, fire ritual, and the appeasement of demons. Strickmann is aware of the sectarian polemics behind the pure-miscellaneous distinction and notes that the differences between them are often exaggerated.[14] Yet he is still compelled to lend the distinction *some* historical and heuristic credibility, for without it he would be hard pressed to justify his application of the term "Tantra" to the diverse range of phenomena discussed in his book. In other words, without a coherent notion of "pure

Tantra"—be it a self-conscious tradition, lineage, or school—the anachronistic and teleological category of miscellaneous or proto-Tantra threatens to lose its historical or analytical purchase.[15] And this begs the question of the descriptive utility of the term "Tantra" in the first place, at least as applied to the situation in China.

The problem is that the distinction between pure and miscellaneous Tantra is inextricably tied to Japanese sectarian polemics; it was intended to exalt and defend the purity and singularity of Kūkai's legacy. Not only is the pure-miscellaneous distinction unknown in China, it is also unattested in the writings of Kūkai himself or in the works of any other Heian or Kamakura period commentator. In fact, the *junmitsu-zōmitsu* scheme does not appear until the Edo period (1600–1868), when it is invoked by the Shingon scholar-priest Ekō 慧光 (1666–1734).[16] Yet despite this dubious pedigree, the categories continue to inform scholarly reconstructions of Esoteric Buddhism in East Asia down to the present day.[17]

Chinese sources actually provide little in the way of evidence to support the Japanese understanding of a self-conscious esoteric school or lineage in the T'ang, "pure" or otherwise.[18] This is not to say that the term "esoteric teaching" was unknown. The compound *mi-chiao* is ubiquitous in Chinese translations of Indian scriptures, where it is used to denote the sublime and subtle teachings of the Buddha.[19] More important, the distinction between teachings that are "explicit" (*hsien* 現) and those that are "hidden" (*mi* 密) is found in the *Ta-chih tu lun* 大智度論,[20] from whence it made its way into the fully articulated T'ien-t'ai tenet-classification system of the T'ang.[21] Yet in none of these sources does the term "esoteric" denote an independent institution, sect, or even doctrine. Rather, it refers to the fact that the Buddha's sermons were understood in different ways by different people, depending on their individual capacities. The explicit or manifest teachings were those witnessed by all, irrespective of their prior spiritual accomplishments. The more advanced teachings were deemed esoteric or secret, because only advanced beings possessed the spiritual wherewithal to discern them. (This concept was closely associated with the notion, examined in Chapter 2, that a buddha's "response" is determined by the specific "stimuli" of the individual supplicant, and thus several people listening to a single sermon may hear different things.)

The Chinese, it would seem, did not possess and apparently did not feel the need for a term to denote or circumscribe "Tantra" in the T'ang. There is, as far as I can determine, no evidence that Chinese

monks viewed the teachings of Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, or Amoghavajra as dissociated from or inconsonant with other forms of Buddhist practice prevalent at the time. Ch'an monks, for example, particularly those associated with the so-called Northern School, participated in "esoteric" ritual and the study of "Tantric" texts without appearing to jeopardize their Ch'an lineal affiliations.[22] I-hsing 一行 (685–727), the single most eminent Chinese student of Śubhakarasiṃha and a renowned master of esoteric texts in his own right, was simultaneously a disciple of the seventh Northern School patriarch P'u-chi 普寂 (651–739), dharma heir of Shen-hsiu (605?–706).[23] In 719 another Northern Ch'an monk, I-fu 義福 (661–736), joined I-hsing in receiving esoteric consecrations from Vajrabodhi in the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an.[24] And sometime between 716 and 723 Ching-hsien 景賢 (or 敬賢, 660–723)—who, like I-fu, was a dharma heir of Shen-hsiu—had an encounter with Śubhakarasiṃha and may have studied with him as well.[25] Kenneth Eastman notes that "whether it was Hui-ch'ing or I-hsing who put Shan-wu-wei's discourse on Vajrayāna meditation in final form, the work itself might rightly be considered as belonging to the literature of the Northern School of Ch'an, whose members solicited it, recorded it, and seemingly disseminated it" (1983:54).

In discussing connections between esoterism and Ch'an, Japanese scholars have also drawn attention to an idiosyncratic Tun-huang text with an impossibly long title that is known, in short, as the *T'an-fa i-tse* 壇法儀則.[26] While this work claims to be an Amoghavajra translation of an Indic text, it is obviously an indigenous Chinese composition, thought to date to the end of the T'ang or the Five Dynasties. This text contains all the marks of a "Tantric" scripture: it includes instructions for reciting *dhāraṇī*, visualizing Sanskrit characters, constructing *maṇḍala*, and invoking various deities. The attention of Japanese scholars was immediately drawn, however, to the chapter titled *Fu fa-tsang p'in* 付法藏品 (Chapter on Entrusting the Dharma Repository), which contains an account of the transmission of the teachings of the text beginning with Mahāvairocana.[27] The transmission follows the well-known Ch'an tradition derived from the *Pao-lin chuan* 寶林傳 and the *Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liu-tsu t'an-ching* 六祖壇經): it proceeds through the seven buddhas of the past to Śākyamuni, then from Mahākāśyapa through twenty-eight generations to Bodhidharma, who goes to China, where the transmission continues through Hui-k'o 慧可, Seng-ts'an, and so on, ending with Hui-neng 惠能. Each

patriarch "ascended Mahāvairo[cana]'s Vajra realm, was fully entrusted with the teaching, and obtained unexcelled bodhi" 登大毘盧金剛界、成受付囑、得無上菩提 (Tanaka 1983:138–146).

Virtually nothing is known about the provenance or authorship of the *T'an-fa i-tse*, but there are no overt hints that the author was attempting to conflate or synthesize what he took to be two distinct schools or traditions. Significant differences did exist between the practices promoted by early Ch'an and the body of textual and ritual knowledge transmitted by Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra in eighth-century China. But, as I shall discuss below, the teachings of Śubhakarasiṃha and his countrymen were most likely viewed as a powerful new technology for gaining control over supernatural forces rather than as an independent or competing lineage, school, or vehicle.

It was not until the tenth century, well after the eminent Indian masters of the T'ang had come and gone, that Chinese commentators began to group certain practices, doctrines, and teachers under the explicit rubric of esoterism.[28] The earliest surviving work to do so appears to be Tsan-ning's 贊寧 (919–1001) *Sung kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (Sung Period Edition of the Biographies of Eminent Monks, T. 2061), imperially commissioned in 983 and finished in 988. Tsan-ning included the biographies of Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra under the broad category of "scriptural exegetes" (*shih-ching* 釋經).[29] While this label would suggest that they were best known for their scholarly endeavors, the biographies themselves revel in accounts of their miraculous powers: they subjugate demons, summon dragons, make rain, quell storms, avert calamity, and even raise the dead (Chou 1945). In short, while the scholarly accomplishments of these masters are duly recorded, they are depicted first and foremost as Buddhist wizards, who placed their supernatural powers in the service of the court. The only suggestion that they were bearers of a distinct teaching or lineage is found in Tsan-ning's brief comments that follow the biographies of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra:

> Among those who promulgated the Wheel of Instruction and Command in China, Vajrabodhi is regarded as the first patriarch, Amoghavajra the second, and Hui-lang the third. From there on the succession of patriarchs is known [to everybody]. As time went on minor schools were separated one from another and formed many different sects. They all claim to teach the great doctrine of Yoga. Though they are many in number, I wonder why so little effect has been shown.[30]

The "Wheel of Instruction and Command" (*chiao-ling-lun* 教令輪) appears to be one of the earliest known expressions used to characterize the teachings of these prelates. Known primarily through the translations and commentaries of Amoghavajra, this term refers to the third of three "wheel-bodies" (*san-lun-shen* 三輪身), the others being the Wheel of Intrinsic Nature (*tzu-hsing-lun* 自性輪) and the Wheel of the True Dharma (*cheng-fa-lun* 正法輪).[31] This was, in effect, an "esoteric" version of the doctrine of the three buddha-bodies; the use of the wheel metaphor alluded to both the wheel of the law (*fa-lun* 法輪) as well as the wheel treasures (*lun-pao* 輪寶) that symbolized the sovereignty of a "wheel-turning sage king" (*chuan-lun sheng-wang* 轉輪聖王, Sk. *cakravartirāja*).[32] The first of these wheel bodies—the Wheel of Intrinsic Nature—is the *dharmakāya* itself, directly manifest as Vairocana and the four directional buddhas arrayed around him. The second wheel-body, that of the True Dharma, refers to the bodhisattvas, who appear in order to spread the Buddha's teaching. The third wheel-body—the Wheel of Instruction and Command—refers to wrathful emanations such as the guardian kings (*ming-wang* 明王), who bear a fierce countenance and brandish weapons in order to convert heretics, demons, and other particularly recalcitrant beings. The Wheel of Instruction and Command is thus associated with the subjugation of demons in order to advance the dharma; Acalanātha is said to be the *chiao-ling-lun-shen* of Vairocana, Trailokyavijaya the *chiao-ling-lun-shen* of Akṣobhya, and so on.

It would seem that Tsan-ning's brief reference to the Wheel of Instruction and Command alludes to the ability of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Hui-lang 慧朗 (d.u.), and their successors to subjugate and control demons and other malevolent forces, as attested in numerous anecdotes that fill their biographies.[33] This ability is derived from a complex technology involving the construction of multitiered altars and the performance of elaborate consecrations and invocations. The goal of such rituals, frequently performed under imperial auspices, was known in Chinese as *hsi-ti* 悉地 (Sk. *siddhi*), which in this context denoted supernatural power and mastery over celestial or divine forces.[34] Thus, when Tsan-ning comments on the dissipation and dissolution of this tradition, he was likely lamenting the fact that no one in his own day could match the great T'ang patriarchs in their displays of supernatural prowess and that Buddhist ritual masters no longer enjoyed the unbridled patronage of the court.

Japanese scholars have been perplexed at the apparent absence of any explicit reference in Chinese sources, including the writings and translations of the great "Tantric patriarchs" of the T'ang, to the self-conscious esoteric tradition that Kūkai claimed to have inherited. One scholar, Yoritomi Motohiro, believes he has discovered such evidence in Tsan-ning's *Sung kao-seng chuan* (Yoritomi 1979:125). In his biography of Amogavajra, Tsan-ning writes that Amogavajra taught the "methods of the new yoga, the five divisions, and the three secrets" 新瑜伽五部三密法.[35] Yoritomi considers the term "new yoga" (*hsin yü-ch'ieh* 新瑜伽) to refer to what became known in Japan as esoterism (*mikkyō*) or, more specifically, pure esoterism (*junmitsu*), and he supports this reading by turning to the end of the *Sung kao-seng chuan* section on scriptural translators (*shih-ching* 釋經), where one finds Tsan-ning's "disquisition" (*lun-yüeh* 論曰) on the biographies in the previous section.[36] This short essay includes a previously unattested elaboration of the "three teachings," namely: (1) the "exoteric teachings" (*hsien-chiao* 顯教), which refers to the teachings of the sūtra, *vinaya*, and treatises, all of which are transmitted through speech; (2) the "esoteric teachings" (*mi-chiao*), identified as "the methods of yoga, consecration, the five divisions, *homa*, the three mysteries, and *maṇḍala*" 瑜伽灌頂五部護摩三密曼拏羅法也, which are transmitted in secret; and (3) the "heart teaching" (*hsin-chiao* 心教), which is identified with Ch'an and is transmitted from mind to mind.[37] Tsan-ning goes on to correlate these three teachings with the three wheels: the exoteric teachings correspond to the Wheel of the Law (*fa-lun*), the esoteric teachings correspond to the Wheel of Instruction and Command (*chiao-ling-lun*), and the Ch'an teachings are identified with the Wheel of Mind (*hsin-lun* 心輪). Tsan-ning comments: "The second, the Wheel of Instruction and Command, is the esoteric teaching. Vajrabodhi is considered its first patriarch" 二教令輪者即密教也、以金剛智爲始祖焉.[38]

Tsan-ning thus makes an explicit connection between the Wheel of Instruction and Command, the esoteric teaching, and the Indian master Vajrabodhi. For Yoritomi this passage constitutes evidence that Tsan-ning regarded the teachings of Vajrabodhi, Amogavajra, and Hui-lang to be an independent tradition, corresponding to what the Japanese call "pure esoterism" (Yoritomi 1979:123). Yet such a reading seems forced, especially given the lack of corroborating evidence in Tsan-ning's extensive oeuvre. On the basis of documents to be discussed below, I suspect that Tsan-ning was engaged in an anachronistic,

if not ad hoc, tenet-classification scheme (*p'an-chiao*), the purport of which was doctrinal exegesis, not historical description.

Shortly after completing his *Sung kao-seng chuan*, Tsan-ning began work on the *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh* 大宋僧史略 (Abbreviated History of the *Saṃgha* Written in the Sung).[39] This relatively short overview of Buddhism contains a section titled the "Transmission of the Esoteric Repository" (*ch'uan mi-tsang* 傳密藏), a category that has no parallel in the much longer *Sung kao-seng chuan*.[40] While this section does attest to an emerging interest in "esoterism" as a bibliographic and exegetical category, the term "esoteric teaching" (*mi-chiao*) itself does not appear. The "esoteric repository," according to Tsan-ning, refers to the methods of *dhāraṇī* 密藏者陀羅尼法也, and Tsan-ning names the fourth-century Kuchean monk Śrīmitra (Po-shih-li-mi-to-lo 帛尸梨蜜多羅, d. ca. 343), traditionally considered the translator of the *Kuan-ting ching* 灌頂經 (Consecration Sūtra, T.1331), as the first to transmit these teachings to China.[41] Tsan-ning goes on to mention Bodhiruci (P'u-t'i-liu-chih, d. 527) of the Northern Wei and the T'ang monks Chih-t'ung 智通 , Amogavajra, and Tao-hsien 道賢 as figures who contributed to the transmission of esoteric scriptures.[42] Amogavajra is singled out for his translation of *dhāraṇī* teachings as well as for his construction of *maṇḍala* and for being the first to use consecration altars in China, while Tao-hsien, known as the Ācārya of Feng-hsiang (Feng-hsiang a-she-li 鳳翔阿闍梨), is credited with the transmission of "powder altars" (*fen-t'an* 粉壇).[43] Tsan-ning's notion of esoterism focuses on *dhāraṇī* rituals and the associated use of *maṇḍala*, altars, and consecrations. However, the specific figures cited by Tsan-ning in connection with the esoteric repository have little to do with the lineage celebrated in Japan. While Amoghavajra appears, Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi are conspicuously absent, as are Hui-lang (who, as mentioned above, is listed as Amoghavajra's successor in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*) and Hui-kuo 惠果 (746–805), revered in Japan as the seventh patriarch in both the *vajradhātu* and *garbhakośadhātu* transmissions. Moreover, Śrīmitra and Bodhiruci, both of whom are mentioned by Tsan-ning as instrumental in the propagation of esoteric teachings, are accorded no such role in Japan.

The combined evidence of the *Sung kao-seng chuan* and the *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh* suggests that Tsan-ning did not have a clearly delimited notion of an independent Tantric or Vajrayāna tradition. While there are references to the Wheel of Instruction and Command, the new yoga, and the esoteric repository, the relationship between them is

not clearly stipulated. Tsan-ning's works are significant in that they provide the earliest evidence of a broad categorical distinction between esoteric and exoteric teachings, with the former associated primarily with incantation practices. Yet the distinction seems probative; the only evidence of such a schema in the more comprehensive *Sung kao-seng chuan* is found in Tsan-ning's disquisition at the end of the section on scriptural translators, in which he divides Buddhist teachings not into two divisions, but into three: exoteric, esoteric, and Ch'an.

Support for approaching Tsan-ning's categories as exegetical or taxonomic innovations is found in a little-known eleventh-century work titled *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung ch'eng-fo hsin-yao chi* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 (Collection of Essentials for Becoming a Buddha through the Perfect Penetration of the Exoteric and Esoteric, T.1955), attributed to the Liao dynasty monk Tao-chen 道䢅 (d.u.).[44] This work, probably composed in the late eleventh century, clearly distinguishes between exoteric and esoteric teachings. The former are defined as the teachings contained in the sūtras, *vinaya,* and treatises of the various vehicles, while the latter are identified specifically with methods of *dhāraṇī* and mantra.[45] But Tao-chen goes much farther than Tsan-ning, insofar as he incorporates the exoteric-esoteric distinction into the detailed Hua-yen tenet-classification scheme associated with Fa-tsang (643–712).

The *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung ch'eng-fo hsin-yao chi* is structured around the analysis of "four essentials" (*hsin-yao* 心要): the exoteric, the esoteric, the union of the two, and the transcendence of the two. The exoteric teachings are delineated through Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao,* namely: (1) Hīnayāna, (2) elementary Mahāyāna (Yogācāra and Mādhyamika), (3) advanced Mahāyāna (*Lotus Sūtra,* etc.), (4) sudden teachings (Ch'an), and (5) perfect teachings (Hua-yen).[46] As for the esoteric teachings, Tao-chen proclaims them "perfect" or "complete" (*yüan* 圓), as they exploit the supernatural powers inherent in *dhāraṇī, maṇḍala,* and so on. Thus those who would avail themselves of the technology of *dhāraṇī* have no need for extensive prior practice or spiritual cultivation; they are quickly able to realize the most profound teachings of the Buddha. For this reason, the esoteric teachings are inherently superior to the exoteric teachings. But this analysis raises a problem: according to Fa-tsang's tenet classification, the perfect teaching refers to scriptures associated with Hua-yen, and Fa-tsang makes no mention of *dhāraṇī* texts. Tao-chen is thus compelled to defend his inclusion of esoteric teachings among those of the fifth and highest rank.

Tao-chen's analysis of this issue is complex, and I will do no more than outline his argument here. Tao-chen asserts that (1) the perfect teachings have both an exoteric component, exemplified by the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra,* as well as an esoteric component, the *dhāraṇī* teachings. But he also notes that (2) *dhāraṇī* texts are included among the scriptural collections associated with each of the three vehicles, and (3) esoteric incantations (*mi-chou* 密呪) are prescribed by each of the five teachings.[47] As such, each of the five divisions of the Buddhist teachings includes esoteric elements, and thus all teachings, from the most rudimentary to the most advanced, contain the perfect teachings.[48] Tao-chen is thus able to claim that the esoteric teachings—the teachings of mantra and *dhāraṇī*—are coextensive with all forms of exoteric Buddhism yet superior to them at the same time. In this way he manages to adapt the exoteric-esoteric distinction to the Hua-yen tenet classification so that esoteric teachings are *both* equal *and* superior to the perfect teachings of the *Avataṃsaka.*

While the text enumerates many mantras, lauding their particular powers and virtues, one mantra is touted as superior to all others, namely, the mantra of Chun-t'i 准提 (Sk. Caṇḍī Avalokiteśvara).[49] According to the polemics of the *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung ch'eng-fo hsin-yao chi,* this mantra is to other mantras what esoteric teachings are to exoteric teachings: it both subsumes and surpasses them. Thus the Chun-t'i mantra is said to incorporate the merits and rewards of all mantras; like a *cintāmaṇi* (wish-fulfilling gem), it is capable of fulfilling all one's desires.[50] Yet, despite Tao-chen's advocacy of the Chun-t'i mantra in particular and esoteric practices in general, Tao-chen is catholic in the range of materials he uses as proof-texts. Some of the texts are among those now commonly associated with Tantra,[51] but there are many more that are not, including commentaries by Hui-yüan (332–416) and Fa-tsang.

The works by Tsan-ning and Tao-chen discussed here are, to my knowledge, the earliest surviving Chinese documents that unambiguously depict "esoterism" as a distinct doctrinal or bibliographical category. It is difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of negative evidence. Yet these post-T'ang sources do appear to be improvising: the convoluted polemics of the *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung ch'eng-fo hsin-yao chi,* in which Tao-chen struggles to integrate the "esoteric teachings" into a well-established doctrinal classification scheme, may constitute tacit acknowledgment of the novelty of Tao-chen's position. Moreover, there is little consonance between Tao-chen's approach to esoterism

and that found in the earlier writings of Tsan-ning, and even Tsan-ning's own oeuvre contains considerable discrepancies. Such evidence suggests that these authors were charting out new territory with very limited historical, doctrinal, or scriptural precedent on which to draw.

There is a vast gap between the conception of esoteric Buddhism found in these tenth- and eleventh-century Chinese works on the one hand and the Japanese understanding of esoterism traced to Kūkai on the other. The Chinese texts show little if any awareness of an exalted lineage of esoteric masters going back to Mahāvairocana and Vajrasattva. Nor do they give pride of place to the *vajradhātu* and *garbhadhātu* cycles, or to the teachings of the *dharmakāya*- versus the *nirmāṇakāya*-buddha. Nevertheless, there are a few notable areas of agreement. Tao-chen's tenet classification, for example, is similar to Kūkai's insofar as it regards the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as the most exalted of the exoteric scriptures and views esoteric teachings as coextensive with, yet superior to, exoteric teachings.[52] Traditional Shingon exegetes regard such agreement as confirming the authenticity of Kūkai's transmission; if there is confusion in later Chinese sources concerning the nature of esoterism, it simply goes to show that "pure Tantra" had become virtually moribund in China by the end of the T'ang, while it continued to prosper in Japan.

But there is another way to read the evidence. As mentioned above, there is little evidence that esoterism was viewed as an independent school, lineage, teaching, or bibliographic category in the T'ang. Only at the end of the tenth century, some two centuries following the death of Amoghavajra, does Tsan-ning make the first tentative and inconsistent attempts to delineate an esoteric school under the rubric of the Wheel of Instruction and Command and the "esoteric repository." Tsan-ning's analysis is followed by Tao-chen's apparently independent efforts to integrate esoteric teachings into an influential Hua-yen *p'an-chiao*. Might such efforts have been spurred by knowledge of developments in Japan? We know that in the 950s, T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an monks were working to recover lost Buddhist texts from Japan and Korea; they were evidently aware that Buddhism was alive and well elsewhere in East Asia.[53] How much they knew is difficult to determine, but there is a suggestive remark found at the end of Tsan-ning's section on the esoteric repository in the *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh*: "In Japan great masters often lecture on the esoteric repository for the benefit of noblemen and aristocrats. Even today their disciples are flourishing" 日本大師常爲王公大人演密藏。至今弟子繁衍.[54] Tsan-

ning seems to have been aware of the stature accorded Shingon masters near the end of the tenth century, and it would be helpful to know more about his sources. However, a full exploration of possible Japanese influence on Sung dynasty historiography and exegesis will have to await another occasion.

Later Sung T'ien-t'ai historiographers drew directly on Tsan-ning's use of the terms "*mi-chiao*" and, more specifically, "*yü-ch'ieh mi-chiao*" 瑜伽密教 (esoteric teachings of yoga). The term "*yü-ch'ieh mi-chiao*," for example, is found in fascicle 29 of the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀 (Chronicle of Buddhas and Patriarchs) of 1269, where it is applied to Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Hui-lang, Śubhakarasiṃha, and I-hsing.[55] And the *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* 釋門正統 (True Succession of Śākyamuni's Teachings) of 1237 collects the biographies of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, Śubhakarasiṃha, and I-hsing under the heading "a record of those who transmitted esoteric thought" (*mi-chiao-ssu fu-tsai chi* 密教思復載記).[56] But, even in these systematic works, these terms do not refer to a particular doctrine, teaching, or scriptural category so much as to a handful of eminent T'ang prelates famed as masters of a sophisticated and potent ritual technology. There is no attempt to bring this emerging biographical category into line with the doctrinal classifications developed by Tao-chen.

It should now be evident that the Edo period distinction between pure and mixed esoterism is the result of specific sectarian developments in Japan and in no way reflects the historical situation in China. The very contrivance of a category of "mixed esoterism" acknowledges that esoteric-like practices—practices that sought ritual control over celestial forces—were a ubiquitous element in Chinese Buddhism.[57] If the Japanese category "pure esoterism" cannot be defined in terms of a unique form of *practice*, it would appear that the conceptual burden must be borne by the formal Shingon distinction between the teachings of the *nirmāṇakāya*-buddha Śākyamuni versus the teachings of the *dharmakāya*-buddha Vairocana. Yet even on the level of doctrine, the distinction is not nearly as novel or momentous as Shingon apologists claim. In Chapter 2, I touched on the venerable Buddhist tenet, found even in Pāli materials, that the real body of Śākyamuni Buddha is the dharma-body, and this claim is reiterated time and time again in the Mahāyāna corpus. One immediately thinks of the *Lotus Sūtra*, which famously proclaims that the true Buddha is the eternal Buddha. But the *Lotus Sūtra* is by no means exceptional: similar points are made in the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures,[58] the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*,[59] the *Su-*

varṇaprabhāsa-sūtra,[60] the *Samādhirāja-sūtra,*[61] the *Laṇkāvatāra,*[62] and so on. There are, moreover, a number of nonesoteric texts that explicitly identify Śākyamuni Buddha with Vairocana, who, according to Shingon doctrine, is none other than the *dharmakāya* itself.[63]

Shingon apologists would reply that such "exoteric" doctrines are beside the point. All educated Buddhists agree that the essence of buddhahood is the transcendent *dharmakāya.* The distinctively esoteric claim, however, is that the *dharmakāya* is known in exoteric teachings only through mediating structures, namely, the skillful means of *nirmāṇakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* buddhas. The panoply of esoteric teachings and rituals, in contrast, are the immediate actualization or instantiation of the absolute itself. The claim that esoteric teachings do not represent or express the absolute, but rather *are* the absolute, is intended to sound astonishing, if not paradoxical; indeed, therein lies the "mystery" (*mitsu* 密) to which Shingon commentators repeatedly allude. Yet there is not much one can do with this claim other than treat it as a literary trope, albeit an eloquent and conceptually sophisticated one. While this rhetorical strategy inspired new developments in the arenas of myth, ritual, and literature, it does not provide one with much of a doctrinal foundation for distinguishing esoteric from exoteric before Kūkai's creative and highly successful undertaking.

In questioning the historical status of Chinese Tantra or Vajrayāna, I do not mean to deny the significance of the new ceremonial texts and procedures propagated by Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, and others in the seventh and eighth centuries. They arrived in China as bearers of a magnificent new technology that represented the "state of the art" in Indian Buddhist ritual. With the help of lavish state patronage, they translated hundreds of new scriptures and ritual manuals, and introduced scores of previously unknown deities along with a body of technical expertise necessary to propitiate them. The new deities, who numbered in the hundreds, were associated with an elaborate and somewhat baroque iconography, spurring new technical and stylistic developments in the Chinese visual arts. This cluster of developments reflects, no doubt, a larger pan-Indian religious movement that cut across sectarian lines and spread rapidly throughout Indianized Asia. Yet there is little evidence that the South Asian Buddhist masters who made their way to China regarded their teachings as constituting a conceptual break with prevailing forms of Buddhist doctrine or ritual, or that they had any intention of founding a

new sect. Indeed, as Ryūichi Abé has persuasively argued, even Kūkai did not conceive of his "esoteric" teachings as constituting an independent tradition; nor did he set out to found a new school (Abé 1999). Rather, Kūkai viewed Buddhist esoterism as an alternative hermeneutic that could be applied to virtually any Buddhist scripture, and thus he sought to have his teachings adopted by the Nara Buddhist establishment already in place. There is, in other words, a conceptual continuity between Kūkai's understanding of "esoteric" (*mitsu*) and the earlier use of the term in the *Ta-chih tu lun* and the writings of Chih-i (538–597), where it referred to a more subtle and spiritually efficacious understanding of the exoteric teachings veiled only from those unable to discern it. Kūkai's contribution was not in reconceiving the exoteric-esoteric hermeneutic but rather in forging a comprehensive system that integrated the exoteric-esoteric distinction into an all-inclusive tenet-classification scheme, much as Tao-chen would do in China some two centuries later.

Given the paucity of evidence for a Vajrayāna school in China, why have scholars maintained otherwise? No doubt they are influenced by doctrinal and sectarian developments in Tibet and Japan as well as by a priori assumptions about the character of "non-Tantric" Buddhism. There was a tendency among earlier generations of scholars, now well documented, to view Buddhism as a humanistic, rational, and even atheistic creed that rejected image veneration, ritualism, and divine grace.[64] The category of Buddhist Tantra—a supposedly late Indian development that incorporated elements from popular Hinduism—served as a convenient prophylactic, shielding the orientalist construction of "early" or "pure" Buddhism from contamination. All manner of purportedly magical practices incommensurate with this notion of true Buddhism could then be dismissed as having been tainted by Tantra or, even worse, by folk religion.[65] Yet the textual, art historical, and anthropological record leaves little doubt that the fundamental ingredients of Tantra—belief in the ritual efficacy of sacred incantation and gesture, the ritual veneration of icons and the invocation of deities, the pursuit of *siddhi,* and the notion that buddhahood can be visited here and now—were the common heritage of virtually all traditions of Chinese Buddhism, whether elite or popular, monastic or lay.

Appendix 2

Scriptural Quotations in the *Treasure Store Treatise*

There are approximately thirty-one quotations (depending on how you count them) from various scriptures in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, often introduced by the phrase "therefore, the scripture says" (*ku ching yün* 故經云). Although the sources are never cited, about one-third of them have been identified by Kamata Shigeo (1965:379–385). Of these, most are drawn from translations of sūtras that enjoyed wide circulation in the Sui and early T'ang. The Kumārajīva translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (T.475), quoted seven times, tops the list. This is not surprising, as the *Vimalakīrti* was popular among Southern Chinese literati interested in "Lao-Chuang" thought as well as among Buddhist exegetes associated with the growing Ch'an movement both in the south and in Szechwan.[1] The sūtra was also influential in the writings of Twofold Mystery authors, and much of fascicle 9 of the *Hai-k'ung ching*, a "Twofold Mystery" text, is in fact taken more or less directly from the *Vimalakīrti*.[2] Finally, Seng-chao himself was closely associated with this sūtra, owing to the widespread influence and popularity of his commentary to the *Vimalakīrti*. The relatively large number of quotations from the *Vimalakīrti* thus corroborate the argument presented in Chapter 1 concerning the literary provenance of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

Other quoted scriptures include the Kumārajīva translations of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Vajracchedikā*, the T'ang translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the apocryphal *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*, and the *Tao-te ching*. I have reproduced below all the quotations in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, both identified and unidentified. Note, however, that where the source is unknown, it is sometimes difficult to determine precisely where the quotation ends; the list below must therefore be used with

caution. Following each quotation I give the source, when known, and list other contemporaneous materials in which the same quotation is found. More detailed comments can be found in my commentary to the translation.

Quotation Appearing in Chapter One of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

145c10 Therefore, the scripture says: "To the extent that one's mind is pure, the buddha-land is pure." 故經云:隨其心淨則佛土淨.

Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T.475: 14.538c5). Also found in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971:67).

Quotations Appearing in Chapter Two of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

146b3–4 Therefore, the scripture says: "Perceiving the subtle is called buddha; knowing transcendence is called dharma." 故經云：見微名爲佛、知離名爲法.

Unidentified. See the introductory comments to the translation of chapter 2 of the *Treatise*.

146c11–12 Therefore, the scripture says: "Subtlety is wondrous and profound; transcendence constitutes inherent nature." 故經云：微妙甚深、離自性也.

Unidentified. Likely a forced misreading; see my commentary to chapter 3, section 146b22.

147a23 Therefore, the scripture says: "[The Buddhas] explain the dharma in accordance with what is appropriate. Their purport is difficult to understand." 故經云：隨宜說法、意趣難解.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (*Miao-fa lien-hua ching*, chapter 2, T.262: 9.7a; trans. Hurvitz 1976:29). Also found in the *Chen-yen yao-chüeh*, a text recovered at Tun-huang showing strong Taoist influence (T.2825: 85.1231b2–3).

147c2–3 The scripture says: "The Buddha has explained that no

body is called the great body." 故經云 : 佛説非身是名大身.

Vajracchedikā (*Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching*, T.235: 8. 749c25).

147c6–7 Therefore, the scripture says: "Whether a buddha exists or not, the inherent attribute abides eternally." 故經云: 有佛無佛性相常住.

Unidentified. The same quotation is found in fascicle 18 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (5.75.7), in the biography of Yang-shan Hui-chi (807–882).

147c13–14 Therefore, the scripture says: "Form is precisely emptiness. It is not that form obliterates emptiness." 故經云 : 色即是空、非色滅空.

Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T.475: 14.551a; cf. Lamotte 1976:195).

147c16 The scripture says: "Emptiness is precisely form, yet form is in no way depleted." 故經云 : 空即是色、色無盡也.

Kamata marks the end of the quotation after the eighth character, which places it in the category of "unidentified" quotations. The first four characters, however, are well known from the text of the *Heart Sūtra* supposedly translated by Hsüan-tsang in 649 (T.251: 8.848c8). (The Hsüan-tsang version differs substantially from the earlier translation by Kumārajīva; cf. T.250: 8.847c12.) This would then constitute the only sample of a translation attributed to Hsüan-tsang in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

147c24–26 Therefore, the scripture says: "Arising is merely the arising of dharmas; cessation is merely the cessation of dharmas. Moreover, these dharmas do not know one another. When they arise, they do not say: 'I am arising.' When they cease, they do not say: 'I am ceasing.'" 故經云 : 起唯法起滅唯法滅、又此法者各不相知。起時不言我起、滅時不言我滅.

Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T.475: 14.545a; cf. Lamotte 1976:122). Also found in the *Ma-tsu yü-lu* (Iriya 1984:24).

Quotations Appearing in Chapter Three of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

148a4–6 Therefore, the scripture says: "The Way initially begets One." The One is the unconditioned. "One begets two." Two is the deluded mind, since, in knowing One, there is a division into two. Two begets the *yin* and the *yang*, and *yin* and *yang* are movement and stillness. 故經云：道始生一、一爲無爲。一生二、二爲妄心，以知一故即分爲二。二生陰陽、陰陽爲動靜也 .

Derived, perhaps indirectly, from *Tao-te ching* 42: "The Way begets One, One begets two, two begets three, and three begets the myriad things. The myriad things carry the *yin* and embrace the *yang*. Through the blending of the pneumas [of the *yin* and the *yang*], they are brought into harmony" 道生一、一生二、二生三、三生萬物。萬物負陰而抱陽、冲氣以爲和 .

148a12–14 Therefore, the scripture says: "With the multiplication of mind and form, mind begets a myriad thoughts, and form gives rise to a myriad facets. These karmic conditions combine, together becoming the seeds of the triple realm." 故經云 : 種種心色是以心生萬慮、色起萬端、和合業因遂成三界種子.

Unidentified.

148a17–18 Therefore, the scripture says: "The triple realm is illusory and unreal, the mere transformations of the single deluded mind." 故經云 : 三界虛妄不實、唯一妄心變化 .

Kamata has attempted to trace this quotation but reports only limited success. It resembles a passage found in the *Daśabhūmika*, but none of the extant translations contains the precise wording found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*.[3] A passage in the *Laṅkāvatāra* is also similar to, but not identical with, the quotation at hand.[4] The *Treasure Store Treatise* quotation is, however, virtually identical in *meaning* with the surviving Sanskrit text: *sarvaṃ hi mahāmate tribhavamabhūta vikalpaprabhavaṃ*.[5] Kamata suggests that the *Treasure Store Treatise* may be quoting

another version of the *Laṅkāvatāra* passage, one that is no longer extant. Also note that the phrase *hsü wang pu shih* 虛妄不實 is found in fascicle 3 of the *Ta-sheng i-chang* by Ching-ying Hui-yüan (T.1851: 44.528a27) and fascicle 22 of the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T.99: 2.157a).

148a24–25 Therefore, the scripture says: "With existence comes suffering; the absence of existence is nirvāṇa." 故經云：有有即苦果、無有即涅槃.

Unidentified.

148b1–2 Therefore, the scripture says: "The worthies and sages may be distinguished [from others] by virtue of the unconditioned dharma." 故經云：一切賢聖皆以無爲法而有差別.

Unidentified.

148b4–5 Therefore, the scripture says: "The principle of reality is neither conditioned nor unconditioned. It is neither of this shore nor of the other shore, nor does it flow in between." 故經云 : 實相之理非有爲非無爲、不此岸不彼岸、不中流.

Unidentified.

148b7–8 Therefore, the scripture says: "All dharmas have nonarising as their essential principle." 故經云 : 一切法以不生爲宗.

Unidentified.

148c1–2 Therefore, the scripture says: "The dense phenomenal array and the myriad schemata are all the imprint of the singular dharma." 故經云：森羅及萬象一法之所印.

Fo-shuo fa-chü ching (T.2902: 85.1435a22–23). Also found in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (Yanagida 1971:63), the *Ma-tsu yü-lu* (Iriya 1984:19), as well as at least three other early Ch'an documents. It appears in Yen-shou's *Tsung-ching lu*, in the record of Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁 (835–

923, T.2016: 48.945c). It is also quoted in Fa-tsang's *Wang-chin huan-yüan kuan* 妄盡還源觀 (T.1876: 45; see Yanagida 1971:67). But the later diffusion of this phrase is probably due in large part to its appearance in the *Pi-yen lu* 碧巖録 (T.2003: 48.168c29 and passim). See the discussion in Chapter 1 of this study as well as the commentary to chapter 1, section 145b23, of the translation.

148c8–9 Therefore, the scripture says: "Buddha-nature is uniform, expansive, and difficult to fathom." 故經云：佛性平等廣大難量.

Unidentified.

148c10–11 Therefore, the scripture says: "If you are fully able to know the One, the myriad affairs will all be complete." 故經云：了能知一萬事畢.

Unidentified.

148c13–14 The scripture says: "The preceding instant of thought is the ordinary person, and the succeeding instant of thought is the sage." It also says: "All dharmas are known in a single instant of thought." 經云：前念是凡後念是聖。又云：一念知一切法也.

The source of the quotation is unknown, although the second sentence may be drawn from the *Vimalakīrti*: "To know all things in a single instant of thought is the locus of the Way, since it brings all knowledge to perfection" 一念知一切法是道場, 成就一切智故 (T.475: 14.543a4–5). The immediate context of this sentence in the *Vimalakīrti* seems to have little relation, however, to the passage at hand. Cf. *Platform Sutra*, T.2008: 48.340a13–15; trans. Yampolsky 1967:148.

148c15–16 Therefore, the scripture says: "If everything exists, then the mind exists, which is to be confused. If nothing exists, then there is no mind, which is to pervade the ten directions." 故經云：一切若有有心即迷、一切若無無心即遍十方.

Unidentified.

149a10–11 Therefore, the scripture says: "If living beings associate with evil companions, it will increase their evil views." 故經云：衆生親近悪知識長悪知見.

Unidentified.

149a25–26 Therefore, the scripture says: "When you look upon all the buddha-lands and the Buddhas' physical bodies, there is great diversity, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom." 故經云：彼見諸佛國土及以色身而有若干、其無礙慧無若干也.

Abbreviated from the *Vimalakīrti*: "Ānanda, when you look upon all the buddha-lands, the lands appear diverse, but the sky is devoid of any such diversity. In the same way, when you look upon the physical bodies of all the Buddhas, there is diversity, but there is no difference when it comes to their unobstructed wisdom" 阿難：汝見諸佛國土地有若干而虛空無若干也。如是見諸佛色身有若干耳其無礙慧無若干也 (T.475: 14.554a7–9; cf. Lamotte 1976:226–227).

149b1–2 Therefore, the scripture says: "The mind is like a dancer and thought like a jester. The five consciousnesses are their companions, and deluded thought observes this troupe of performers." 故經云：心如工伎兒、意如和伎者、五識爲伴侶、妄想觀伎衆.

T'ang translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* (T.672: 16.557a). See Chapter 1 for a full discussion of the significance of this quotation for the dating of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

149b14–15 Therefore, the scripture says: "The holy realm transcends both nonexistence and non-nonexistence and is not something that can be designated or reckoned." 故經云：聖境界離於非有非無、非所稱量.

Unidentified.

149c2–3 Therefore, the scripture says: "No eye and no form, and yet there is still confused vision." 故經云：無眼無色復有迷眼.

Unidentified.

149c4–5 Therefore, the scripture says: "It is like a gentleman whose sense faculties have decayed and who thus is no longer able to benefit from the five desires." 故經云 : 譬如根敗之士其於五欲不能復利.

Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T.475: 14.549b17–22; cf. Lamotte 1976: 179–180).

149c17 The scripture says: "Buddha-nature extends everywhere, without regard for whether one is an ordinary person or a sage." 經云 : 佛性普遍無問凡聖.

Unidentified.

149c19 Therefore, the scripture says: "Discern the real attribute of the body, and discern the Buddha in like manner." 故經云 : 觀身寔相觀佛亦然.

Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T.475: 14.554c28–555a4; cf. Lamotte 1976:238). Also found in the *Chüeh-kuan lun* (Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976:90; see the discussion in Chapter 1).

149c27–28 Therefore, the scripture says: "The consciousness of the ordinary person is beguiled and deluded, and fails to penetrate." 故經云 : 凡夫想識惑妄不通.

Unidentified.

Notes

Introduction

1. This situation may be changing, as attested in a number of recent English-language volumes on Chinese Buddhism that include contributions from both buddhologists and sinologists; see Gregory ed. 1987; Buswell ed. 1990; and Gregory and Getz eds. 1999.

2. For these dates see Tsukamoto 1954.

3. There is little evidence that Mahāyāna was making a significant impact in India or Central Asia until the fourth or fifth century, and thus the first foreign Mahāyāna Buddhists to arrive in China may have been searching for a more receptive environment in which to propagate their relatively marginal, if not persecuted, movement; see Boucher 1996:59–61.

4. On the Ch'an school as a product of the Sung rather than the T'ang, see Foulk 1987 and 1993. On the role of literary studies in Ch'an, see Gimello 1992 and Faure 1993:195–242.

5. There is simply no evidence that figures later regarded as major Pure Land patriarchs—T'an-luan 曇鸞 (476–542), Tao-ch'o 道綽 (562–645), and Shan-tao 善導 (613–681), for example—conceived of themselves as belonging to a distinct or autonomous school. The same is true for the so-called Tantric patriarchs of the T'ang, including Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra. On the nature of Chinese Pure Land, see Sharf 1997; on the historical status of Chinese Tantra, see Appendix 1 of this study.

6. For critiques of the notion of a post-T'ang decline, see Foulk 1993; Weidner 1994:37–47; and the collection of essays in Gregory and Getz ed. 1999.

7. See Sharf 1995a, 1995b, 1998, and 2001b.

8. On Kuan-ting's 灌頂 (561–632) extensive "borrowings" from the works of the San-lun master Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549–623) in his compilation of the teachings of Chih-i 智顗 (538–597), see Hirai Shun'ei 1985. On the involvement of T'ien-t'ai historiographers in the construction of the Pure Land patriarchate, see Getz 1994 and 1999; on the relationship between Ch'an and Pure Land, see Sharf 1997; and on the interactions between Ch'an and Neo-Confucian literati in the Sung, see Gimello 1992; Shinohara 1994, 1997; and the essays in Gregory and Getz eds. 1999, esp. those by Borrell, Huang, and Welter.

9. Zürcher 1982a:173; see also the discussions in Strickmann 1982 and Overmyer 1990.

10. Robert Gimello made much the same point some time ago in his perspicacious but little-known article on the subject of sinification (Gimello 1978).

11. I am drawing on the work of the preeminent scholar of the period, Erik Zürcher, including 1972, 1977, 1980, 1981, and 1982b.

12. See, for example, the following comments by Alicia Matsunaga: "Prior to Kumārajīva's advent, the early Buddhist translators had been using the method of making an analogy (*ko-i*) between Buddhist and Taoist concepts in order to explain the new faith in a language that could be understood by the native Chinese. . . . Kumārajīva was the first to break with this practice and set forth a correct understanding of Buddhism, and his translations proved to be of an enduring value superior to all of his predecessors" (1969:104). T. H. Barrett similarly remarks: "It was only at the start of the fifth century that the great Central Asian translator Kumārajīva (344–413) was able to make clear the many significant differences that existed between Buddhist and native ways of thought" (1992:13). Such comments are ubiquitous in the field.

13. See, for example, the reviews of Nāgārjuna scholarship in Tuck 1990 and Williams 1991.

14. There is a more immediate impediment to judging the accuracy or adequacy of Chinese translations: we simply do not know the precise relationship between the Sanskrit (or Prakrit) recension(s) used as the source for a particular Chinese translation and the surviving Sanskrit recensions at our disposal. What we do know is that the Indic originals were in a state of constant flux; witness the widely divergent versions of the longer *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra*, to pick but one cogent example. As such, it is difficult to isolate with confidence specific examples of "repression," "remainder," "compensation," and other effects identified by translation theorists.

15. One example is Richard Robinson's influential *Early Mādhyamika in India and China* (1976), in which the writings of early Chinese San-lun (Mādhyamika) exegetes are analyzed next to their Indian forebears and sometimes found wanting.

16. Malinowski made precisely this point in an article on the study of myth published in 1926:

> The limitation of the study of myth to the mere examination of texts has been fatal to a proper understanding of its nature. The forms of myth which come to us from classical antiquity and from the ancient sacred books of the East and other similar sources have come down to us without the context of living faith, without the possibility of obtaining comments from true believers, without the concomitant knowledge of their social organization, their practiced morals, and their popular custom, at least without the full information which the modern fieldworker can easily obtain. (Malinowski 1984:198)

17. See esp. Schopen 1975, 1977, 1979, 1987, and the collection of essays in Schopen 1997.

18. Among the plethora of contemporary studies that support this view, see Bechert ed. 1978; Gombrich 1988; Reader and Tanabe 1998; Stein 1972:191–

247; as well as the extensive ethnographic studies by Melford Spiro, Gananath Obeyesekere, Sherry Ortner, Stanley Tambiah, and so on.

19. One thinks of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purity), Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* (Course of Practice), Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (Great Book on Stages of the Path), or Gyōnen's 凝然 *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (Essential Teachings of the Eight Schools).

20. On the formation of the category "world religion," see esp. Smith 1998 and Masuzawa n.d.

21. There is now a considerable body of scholarship on Buddhist influence in the evolution of institutional Taoism; see esp. Bokenkamp 1983, 1990; Strickmann 1982; Verellen 1992; and Zürcher 1980. Japanese Shinto is an even more telling example. Scholars have tended to brand certain medieval Japanese religious systems as "syncretic," as if they comprised an assemblage of Buddhist and Shinto elements. But the question arises as to the status of "Shinto" as an independent religious entity in medieval Japan; on analysis it turns out to be the product of Meiji political reforms that effected a forced separation of the "foreign creed," Buddhism, from "indigenous Japanese religion," namely, Shinto. The term "Shinto" and by extension Buddhist-Shinto syncretism as applied to pre-Meiji Japan would then constitute abstractions of dubious descriptive or heuristic value. See Kuroda 1993 and Grapard 1984, 1992.

22. I can think of no single Buddhist tenet that is not explicitly denied or contradicted somewhere in the canon itself. One can find scriptural support for either affirming or denying (1) an eternal self, (2) the role of divine grace, (3) the existence of a fundamental ontological divide between the absolute and the contingent, (4) the existence of a buddha after his death, and so on. Some might counter that the essence of Buddhism should not be sought in any particular teaching, but rather in its mythology and cosmology, or in its ritual, liturgical, or meditative practices, or in its monastic institutions. But here too there is no consistent scriptural, doctrinal, or historical precedent for privileging one domain of activity over another. Given the absence of any interdenominational consensus, it seems inappropriate, if not foolhardy, for scholars to try to mandate the issue.

23. One classic example is biblical monotheism, which did not evolve out of a coherent or consistent conception of the one true god. Rather, as Moshe Halbertal and Avishai Margalit have argued (1992), the biblical account betrays a striking absence of clarity among Jews concerning the nature of their god, a fact that compelled the biblical authors to delimit their monotheistic creed largely through the reprobation of pagan "idolatry."

24. Typical is the influential T'ang literatus Han-yü 韓愈 (768–824), whose understanding of Confucianism emerged from a lofty conception of "Chineseness" that was itself established through contradistinction with the practices and mores of foreign "barbarians" (Hartman 1986). See also Jensen 1997, which focuses on the Jesuit contribution to the modern construction of Confucianism.

25. The single most compelling example is Ch'an, which emerged out of the Southern School critique of the gradualist practices of their Northern School rivals. As Bernard Faure has argued, the sudden position, which disavows all conceptual, linguistic, or ritual mediation, is structurally unstable, if not untenable (1991:32–78). Thus any and all attempts to articulate the Southern School's

position were necessarily parasitic on the positions of those with whom they disagreed.

26. The term "syncretism" first appears in Plutarch referring to "the behaviour of the Cretans who, despite the discord habitual among them, closed ranks when an external enemy attacked them" (Colpe 1986:218). The term was used frequently in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the context of the study of religion and historical theology, meaning something like a mishmash of religions (*religionsmischerei*). On the meaning, intellectual history, and ideological investments of the category "syncretism," see Colpe 1986; Baird 1971:142–152; Berling 1980:1–13; Hartman ed. 1969; Ringgren 1969; and Stewart and Shaw eds. 1994.

27. See, for example, Soothill 1923:13; C. K. Yang 1961:123–126; Nakamura 1964:290–294; Maspero 1967:111–138; 1981:77–87; Berling 1980:1–31; Langlois and Sun 1983; Shih 1992:7–18; Taylor 1990:71–75; and Brook 1993.

28. For an extended analysis of the linguistic abilities of one such missionary and translator, Dharmarakṣa, see Boucher 1996.

29. Maspero mentions the translation team of Chu Shuo-fo 竺朔佛 (a colleague of Lokakṣema), which translated the *Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra* (*Pan-chou san-mei ching* 般舟三昧經) in A.D. 179. Chu Shuo-fo, who apparently knew no Chinese, was responsible for reciting the original. The Indo-Scythian Chih Ch'an 支讖 then explained the text in Chinese to the native Chinese Meng Fu 孟福. Another Chinese, Chang Lien 張蓮, acted as scribe, rendering the text in characters (*Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集, T.2145:55.48c9–16; Maspero 1981:405). On the similarly complex process involved in Dharmarakṣa's translations, see Boucher 1996. On the nature of the translation enterprise in general, see Zürcher 1982a:162–164.

30. See the analysis in van Gulik 1956.

31. See, for example, the argument in Davidson 1973 and 1974. Davidson attempts to show that the notion of radical cultural incommensurability is itself fundamentally incoherent, a position at odds with my own. Davidson is, I believe, effective at showing the problems with *conceptualizing* incommensurability, yet the attempts of analytic philosophers to explain the problem away have little purchase among anthropologists and translators who confront the issue on a daily basis. Pace Davidson, the problem is not whether it is possible to cross the cultural divide—people do it all the time—but whether it is possible to represent faithfully the view on one side of the divide in the idiom of those who live on the other side.

32. In exegetical writing *p'u-t'i* is regularly translated as "awakening" (*chüeh* 覺), *po-jo* as "wisdom" (*hui* 慧), and *anuttarāsamyaksaṃbodhi* has a number of renderings, including "unexcelled omniscience" (*wu-shang cheng-pien chih* 無上正遍智), to cite but three common examples.

33. The Buddhist exegete T'an-luan, who attributes the efficacy of spoken charms and spells to the identity of name and thing, finds parallels in the *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子:

> Things are of many different types and thus cannot be treated similarly. There are names that are identical to the things [they signify] and names that are different from things. The names of the buddhas and bodhisattvas, the *Prajñāpāramitā* [scriptures] along with their *dhāraṇī,* charms, spells, and similar vocalized phrases are all names that are identical to things. It is

like the charm used to eliminate tumors, which goes: "The sun rises from the east, with a burst of red and a burst of yellow" and so on. Even if you cast the spell in the evening hours, without concerning yourself with the rising of the sun, the tumor will still heal. Or it is like an officer facing the lines [of the enemy] who merely intones through his teeth: "Approaching the battle the warriors stand arrayed before me." Intoning these nine words prevents the five weapons [of the enemy] from striking their target. This is essentially what is stated in the *Pao-p'u-tzu*.... As for names that are different from things, these names are like the finger pointing to the moon.

From the *Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yüan-sheng-chieh chu* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註, T.1819: 40.835c5–17; see also the discussion in Corless 1987:40.

34. See the discussion in van Gulik 1956.

35. For example, while the figure from the Ma-hao tomb possesses the basic iconographic features of a buddha (*uṣṇīṣa, abhayamudrā,* and so forth), the figure is placed on a tomb lintel precisely where, given a survey of similar Han tombs, one would expect to find deities such as Tung Wang-kung or Hsi Wang-mu (Wu Hung 1986:267). Similarly, the four walls of the antechamber of the Eastern Han tomb at Helingeer, Inner Mongolia, are decorated with images of Tung Wang-kung, Hsi Wang-mu, a figure riding a white elephant believed to be derived from the scene of the Buddha's conception, and a depiction of the Buddha's relics identified by the inscription "*she-li*" 舍利. Wu Hung cites several more examples that indicate that the Buddha "not only occupied a place among the Taoist gods and the Confucian sages, but that he was also incorporated into indigenous cults" (1986:268–269). Wu Hung also analyzes examples of "Buddhist art" found on twenty mirrors and twenty ceramic wares discovered in the area of the old Kingdom of Wu (middle and lower Yang-tzu River region), the center of Buddhist activity after the fall of the Han. Here too, despite a host of buddha-like figures and motifs, the objects bear inscriptions that belie the identification of the objects as "Buddhist" (Wu Hung 1986:283).

36. T'ang Yung-t'ung notes that in the cases of Liu Ying and Emperor Huan, Buddhism is associated with the worship of Huang-lao 黄老 in connection with Taoist sacrifices (1955:54–55); see also Zürcher 1972:26–27; and Ch'en 1964:48–49.

37. For a discussion of the manner in which Tibetan teachers have become implicated in the domestication of Buddhism in the West, see Lopez 1998:181–207; for a study of D. T. Suzuki, see Sharf 1995b.

38. Paramārtha is a case in point: he is suspected of exercising a heavy hand in his translations, and he was likely responsible for the notion of a ninth consciousness—the "immaculate consciousness" (Sk. **amalavijñāna*, C. *a-mo-lo-shih* 阿摩羅識)—that was to play an important role in East Asian Buddhist scholasticism. Here an innovation by a respected Indian exegete was designed in response to controversies that arose on Chinese soil (Buswell 1989:95–104; Gimello 1976:313–328; Paul 1984).

39. For a synthesis of "Buddhist" and nonlinear, complex-systems approaches to cognitive science, see Varela et al. 1991.

40. For an attempt to apply an agent-based complex-systems model to the dissemination of culture, see Axelrod 1997. For our purposes, Axelrod's model is

limited insofar as it presumes that individual cultural "traits" remain stable as they move from one region to another. While Axelrod recognizes the phenomenon of "cultural drift," such drift is modeled as the "spontaneous change in a trait" (221), rather than as the direct result of cultural borrowing itself.

1. The Date and Provenance of the *Treasure Store Treatise*

1. T.1857: 45.143b–150a. Full textual information will be found in the introduction to the translation.

2. I am following Tsukamoto for the date of Seng-chao's birth (rather than the more traditional date of 383); see Tsukamoto 1954 and 1955:120–121.

3. The most comprehensive modern study of Seng-chao's life and thought is found in Tsukamoto ed. 1955. See also T'ang Yung-t'ung 1955:328–339; Fung Yu-lan 1953:258–270; Liebenthal 1968; Robinson 1976:123–155; and Demiéville 1957.

4. For the *Kao-seng chuan* biography of Seng-chao, see T.2059: 50.365a9–366a29; an English translation can be found in Liebenthal 1968:6–7. The other two early biographies of Seng-chao appear in (1) *Wei shu* 魏書 (fascicle 114, 20. 75; see Ware 1933:131 and Hurvitz 1956:54) and (2) *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶記 (T.2034: 49.80–81a), but they add little to the *Kao-seng chuan* account. These biographical notices exhibit all of the usual features associated with medieval Buddhist hagiographies (e.g., the claim that Seng-chao mastered the entire Buddhist canon at an early age) and thus must be treated with caution.

5. These dates have been argued by Tsukamoto (1954 and 1955:2.130–135); but see the comments in Robinson 1976:244–247 n. 1. Robinson prefers the dates 343–413, which are derived from an obituary ascribed to Seng-chao and preserved in the *Kuang hung-ming chi* 廣弘明集 (T.2103: 52.264b20–265b2).

6. *Chu wei-mo-chieh ching* 註維摩詰經, T.1775.

7. T.2059: 50.366a29.

8. The Later Ch'in 後秦 dynasty (384–417) was founded by the "Tibetan" general Yao Hsiang 姚襄 (r. 384–393), who was in turn succeeded by Yao Hsing—the generous Buddhist patron of Kumārajīva who had him brought to the capital in 401. Sources mention that in 414, the year of Seng-chao's death, Yao Hsing successfully quelled a rebellion within the Ch'in ruling house (*Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu chi-pu* 十六國春秋輯補, fascicle 53, *Hou-ch'in lu* 後秦録 5, *hung-shih* 弘始 16 [*Ts'ung-shu chi-cheng* edition of 1936: vol. 3818, p. 405]; Tsukamoto 1954:573–574), but there is no evidence attesting to Seng-chao's involvement in this dispute. Walter Liebenthal suggests that there may yet be a grain of truth to the story; he detects a polemical note in one of Seng-chao's works—*Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun* 涅槃無名論 (Nirvāṇa Is Nameless)—on a subject that may have been a point of contention at the Ch'in court (Liebenthal 1968:126–127 n. 669).

9. T.2076: 51.435a29–b2. This verse is cited in one of the earliest English works on Zen, *The Religion of the Samurai* by Nukariya Kaiten (1913:40); see also Miura and Sasaki 1966:282.

10. T.2003: 48.193c27–194a7; trans. follows Cleary and Cleary (1977:2.400–401) with some changes; cf. Nishitani and Yanagida eds. 1974:281–282. The case and anecdote are repeated with embellishments in the *Wan-sung lao-jen p'ing-*

ch'ang t'ien-t'ung chüeh ho-shang sung-ku ts'ung-jung-an lu 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容庵録 published in 1224 (T.2004: 48.286c16–287a5).

11. The citation is found in fascicle 67 of the *T'ung-chih* 通志 (dated 1161) by Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104–1162). The *Treasure Store Treatise* is also listed in the *Sung-shih i-wen chih* 宋史藝文志 dated 1345 (T'ang 1955:332; Makita 1955:274).

12. This lost work on metallurgy is known from citations in various bibliographies and alchemical works. Piet van der Loon's index of Taoist works in Sung bibliographies includes four references to this text: two of them appear under the title *Pao-tsang lun* in one fascicle 寶藏論一卷 compiled by Ch'ing Hsia-tzu 青霞子 (see the *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目, compiled in 1042, 10.1b; and the *Sung-shih i-wen chih* 4.16a). The other two titles are (1) the *Lu-huo pao-tsang lun* 爐火寶藏論 in three fascicles, mentioned in the *Pi-shu sheng hsü-pien-tao ssu-k'u ch'üeh-shu-mu* 祕書省續編到四庫闕書目, a catalogue of lost works compiled in 1145 (2.39a), and (2) the *Lu-huo pao-tsang lun* in two fascicles, listed in the *Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu* 道藏闕經目録, 2.12a (Loon 1984:166). The latter two works may well have been expansions of the one-fascicle *Pao-tsang lun* attributed to Ch'ing Hsia-tzu.

Ch'ing Hsia-tzu is known primarily as a pseudonym of Su Yüan-ming 蘇元明 (or Su Yüan-lang 蘇元朗), a noted Taoist adept associated with Lo-fou shan 羅浮山. Little is known about this figure (or figures); Su Yüan-ming may have been a Taoist of the Sui, but extant biographical sources are relatively late and unreliable (Needham 1976:130; Baldrain-Hussein 1989–1990:165–167). While the name Ch'ing Hsia-tzu is associated with as many as nine alchemical works in T'ang bibliographical sources, surviving quotations from his works cannot be dated earlier than the Sung. To add to the confusion, the pseudonym Ch'ing Hsia-tzu, as Ho Peng Yoke notes, was used by a variety of later authors (1985:181).

Current research suggests that the Taoist *Treasure Store Treatise* was composed around 918 by an alchemist who borrowed the popular pseudonym Ch'ing Hsia-tzu (Ho 1985:193; Needham 1974:273, 342; 1976:211). Ho has collected and published extant quotations from this work, and the fragments fail to reveal any relationship between this treatise on alchemy and metallurgy and the Buddhist work of the same title (Ho 1982:133–138).

One cannot rule out the possibility that the *Treasure Store Treatise* attributed to Ch'ing Hsia-tzu was based on an earlier treatise associated with Su Yüan-ming, in which case the title of the Buddhist *Treasure Store Treatise* may indeed have been inspired by the Taoist work. Such borrowings were not unprecedented: the title of the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i* 參同契, a poem attributed to the Ch'an master Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700–790; see the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T.2076: 51.459b7–21), was borrowed from a well-known second-century Taoist alchemical work, the *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung-ch'i* 周易參同契, attributed to Wei Po-yang 魏伯陽. However, Shih-t'ou's *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i* explicitly alludes to the earlier Taoist composition, whereas the Buddhist *Treasure Store Treatise* bears no apparent relation to the Taoist work with which it shares a title. Besides, the term "*pao-tsang*" is ubiquitous in Buddhist sources, as I document in the introduction to the translation of chapter 1 of the *Treasure Store Treatise* below.

13. T'ang 1955:332. This edition is apparently now lost. Chang-ching Huai-hui's biography can be found in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* 祖堂集 (4.69–71); *Ching-te ch'uan-*

teng lu (T.2076: 51.252b–c); and *Sung kao-seng chuan* 宋高僧傳 (T.2061: 50.767c–768a). In addition, an epitaph for Huai-hui by Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿 (759–818) is found in the *Ch'üan t'ang wen* 全唐文 (fascicle 501:10–11).

14. Tsukamoto 1955:149; Makita 1955: 274; and Mizuno 1961a:22–24.

15. *Nihon biku Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目録, T.2172: 55.1100c12. Because no author is given for the *Treasure Store Treatise*, Mizuno suggested that the text was not associated with Seng-chao until the eleventh century, when it appears in a Korean catalogue of 1090 with the name Seng-chao clearly attached (Mizuno 1961a:22). As I shall show below, there is ample evidence to the contrary.

16. T.2183: 55.1163b21.

17. The manuscript is cited in the Taishō edition of the canon as the *Ōtanidaigakuzō shahon* 大谷大學藏寫本, T.2183: 55.1163 n. 23.

18. *Hsin-pien chu-tsung chiao-tsang tsung-lu* 新編諸宗教藏總録, T.2184: 55.1177c2.

19. T.2015: 48.405a21–23. The quote is found in the *Treasure Store Treatise* 144a22. Sections in parentheses are interlinear comments in the extant edition of the *Ch'an Preface*.

20. T.1795: 39.533b18–19. The quote is also found in Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu* 圓覺經大疏, *HTC* 14.133b3–4.

21. According to the *Ta-shu ch'ao*: "Chao-kung said: 'Guard the truth and embrace the One; then you will not be defiled by external things. The Great Unity—clear and void—how could it be lost?' " (*HTC* 14.209a13–14, quoting from the *Treasure Store Treatise* 145a27–28). And in the *Lüeh-ch'ao*: "Chao-kung said: 'The primordial pneuma is contained within the great schemata, and the great schemata lie concealed in perfect form as the numen of sentient things. [Dormant] within the numen are spirits, and within the spirits are bodies' " (*HTC* 15.91b14–15, quoting from the *Treasure Store Treatise* 143b20–22; note that where the *Treasure Store Treatise* reads "formless" [*wu hsing* 無形], the *Lüeh-ch'ao* has "perfect form" [*yüan hsing* 圓形]).

22. *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* 佛說法句經, S.2021; T.2901: 85.1434b–1435c; see also the commentary to the text: P.2325; T.2902: 85.1435c–1445a. This work never seems to have been brought to Japan, and it was lost in China until its discovery at Tun-huang. It was long considered spurious in China and is listed as such in a number of catalogues, including the *Ta-t'ang nei-tien lu* 大唐内典録, where it is grouped among other "spurious scriptures and treatises" (*wei ching lun* 僞經論 , T.2149: 55.335c23). This is the earliest mention of the text, establishing a terminus ad quem of 664. (See also the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* 開元釋教録, T.2154: 55. 677a6, compiled in 730.) Nevertheless, the *Fa-chü ching* is quoted in a variety of Ch'an-related texts dating from the late seventh to the tenth century. Mizuno speculates that the text was composed between 650 and 655; see Mizuno 1961a; 1961b; and Tanaka 1983:401–412.

23. See the *Fa-chü ching* T.2901: 85.1435a23. The phrase is cited in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* 楞伽師資記 (T.2837: 85.1283a28–29), *Li-tai fa-pao chi* 歷代法寶記 (T.2075: 51.193a12), *Ma-tsu yü-lu* 馬祖語録 (Iriya 1984:19, 193), *Tun-wu ju-tao yao-men lun* 頓悟入道要門論 (Hirano 1970:92), and so on.

24. Kamata's first study of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, Kamata 1962b, was incorporated into his 1965 study of Hua-yen thought (Kamata 1965:375–401). The

latter constitutes the most comprehensive discussion of the text in any language to date.

25. Variant dates for Ch'eng-kuan's death are 820 and 839 (Kamata 1965: 167–168).

26. T.670: 16.510c19–20; T.671: 16.557a22–24; and T.672: 16.620a17–18, respectively. The extant Sanskrit text of the *Laṅkāvatāra* reads: *naṭavannṛtyate cittaṃ mano vidūṣasādṛśam, vijñānaṃ pañcabhiḥ sārdhāṃ dṛśyāṃ kalpeti raṇgavat* (Nanjio ed. 224.2–3); this passage has been translated by D. T. Suzuki as follows: "The Citta dances like a dancer; the Manas resembles a jester; the [Mano-] vijñāna together with the five [Vijñānas] creates an objective world which is like a stage" (1978:193).

27. One interesting exception is a four-character phrase in the *Treasure Store Treatise* (147c16) that may be quoting from Hsüan-tsang's translation of the *Heart Sūtra*. See my commentary to the translation.

28. *Chao-lun shu* 肇論疏, *HTC* 150.413a–444d. Hui-ta is believed to have flourished under the Ch'en dynasty (557–589), although little biographical information survives other than some remarks in the introduction to Yüan-k'ang's commentary to the *Chao lun*, T.1859: 45.161c18 ff. See also Makita 1955:276–277; and Liebenthal 1968:11–12.

29. *Chao-lun shu* 肇論疏, T.1859: 45.161c–200c; *HTC* 96.42c–86d. See Makita 1955:277 and Liebenthal 1968:12–13.

30. *Chao-lun ch'ao* 肇論抄. For a list of additional no-longer-extant T'ang commentaries to the *Chao lun*, see Makita 1955:282–283.

31. The *Chao-lun ch'ao* is the first text listed in the *Nihonkoku shōwa gonen nittōguhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目録, T.2165: 55.1075a10–13. See also the *Jikakudaishi zaitō sōshinroku* 慈覺大師在唐送進録, T.2166: 55.1077b10–13, and the discussion in Makita 1955:281 and Liebenthal 1968:13.

32. Kamata 1965:323–358 and passim.

33. S.2224, S.2499, T.2880: 85.1368b–1380b. Only the second, third, and fourth fascicles of this text survive. The original name of this work was the *Wan-wu wu-ch'ien ching* 萬物無遷經 (compare with the title of Seng-chao's essay: *Wu pu-ch'ien lun* 物不遷論), and the influence of the *Chao lun* is evident throughout (Kamata 1964 and 1965:336).

34. Kamata 1965:336. Kamata finds evidence of such influence in the commentaries by Ching-ying Hui-yüan 淨影慧遠 (T.1776), T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (T.1777; T.1778), Chi-tsang (T.1780; T.1781), and K'uei-chi 窺基 (T.1782). In addition, Tao-i 道液 explicitly acknowledges his debt to Seng-chao in the introduction to his own *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* commentary recovered from Tun-huang (T.2777: 85.440a25).

35. The first, *Shih-chao hsü* 釋肇序 (S.3496; T.2776: 85.438a–440a), can be dated to 766–779. The second, *Shih-chao tuan-hsü ch'ao-i* 釋肇斷序抄義, is part of the *Wei-mo-shu-shih-ch'ien hsiao-hsü ch'ao* 維摩疏釋前小序抄 (P.2149; S.1347; T.2775: 85.436c–437c) and is dated to 766. This latter text quotes the *Chao lun* twice, demonstrating Seng-chao's stature at least in the mind of the author. Seng-chao's preface itself survives in the *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi* 出三藏記集 (T.2145: 55.58a–b).

36. Implicit acknowledgment of the relatively late appearance of the Mahāyāna teachings is scattered throughout the corpus itself. The *Laṅkāvatāra* was preached

while the Buddha was in residence in the Castle of Laṅkā, a narrative trope that, perhaps intentionally, blurs the distinction between the mythological and the historical. The second chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* speaks of five thousand monks, nuns, and laypersons rudely exiting before the preaching of the *Lotus*, an indirect admission that the teaching was previously unknown to the followers of the Hīnayāna (that is, the spiritual descendants of those five thousand benighted beings; T.262: 9.7a7–10). Buston records the legend that Nāgārjuna received the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from the abode of the Nāgas (Obermiller 1986:124). In fully expanded versions of this latter story, the Mahāyāna sūtras, after being compiled by the great bodhisattvas on Mount Vimalasvabhāva, were kept hidden by the Devas, Nāgas, and Gandharvas. Five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, they were discovered by Nāgārjuna in the palace of the Nāgas (Lamotte 1976: lxxxviii). Finally, the *Ta-chih tu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom) asserts that it is simply mistaken to associate the buddha-dharma with the words of Śākyamuni: "The buddha-dharma is not limited to the words spoken by a buddha; all true and good words, subtle and pleasant words in the world are part of the buddha-dharma" (T.1509: 25.66b2–3, cited in Swanson 1989: 42).

37. Tokuno argues that "[the silence of the exegetes] regarding the authenticity of indigenous scriptures indicates that scriptural provenance and authorship were non-issues for them. What mattered most was the value of these 'homemade' scriptures in supporting the doctrinal insights discussed in their writings. Hence the evaluations of the cataloguers did little to deter these texts from entering into the mainstream of Chinese Buddhist exegetical writing" (n.d.:41–43).

38. In his *Hōkyōki* 寶慶記, a record of his travels to Sung China, Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253) questioned his teacher T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching 天童如淨 (1163–1228) concerning the authenticity of the *Shou-leng-yen ching* 首楞嚴經 (T.945) and the *Yüan-chüeh ching* (T.842), two texts now recognized as indigenous Chinese scriptures. According to Dōgen, Ju-ching acknowledged the problematic nature of both texts (Kodera 1980:121, 232). Dōgen's concerns are not the same as those that preoccupied the cataloguers: his primary interest was not the historical provenance of the translation and transmission. Rather, his questions arose because he found some of the teachings espoused in those texts objectionable.

39. For more on the issue of Buddhist apocrypha and scriptural authority in China, see the discussions in Buswell 1990; Strickmann 1982:57–58; Swanson 1989: 41–42; Tokuno 1990; and Tokuno n.d.

40. This text survives in six manuscripts recovered from Tun-huang: P.2732, P.2074, P.2885, P.2045, Peking Jun-84, and a manuscript in the collection of Ishii Mitsuo 石井積翠. Some of the manuscripts specify Bodhidharma as the author, although this attribution has been refuted by Sekiguchi, Yanagida, and others (see below). For an overview of the various Japanese editions and studies of this text, see McRae 1983:173–175. The most complete edition is found in Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976, which includes the photo-reproduction of all extant Tun-huang manuscripts, a critical edition, and translations into modern Japanese and English. Citations below will follow the critical edition found in Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976: 87–102, using their divisions into chapter and section.

41. Sekiguchi 1969a:82–185, building on the work of Kuno 1939 and Ui 1939: 91–134. Sekiguchi published extensively on both the *Chüeh-kuan lun* and the Ox

Head school; see esp. Sekiguchi 1964:240–402; 1967:321–331, 344–356. Other important studies include Yanagida 1970, 1980; McRae 1983; and Dalia 1985: 337–339.

42. On Niu-t'ou Fa-jung see esp. Dalia 1985, which summarizes the extensive Japanese scholarship on this figure.

43. The mountain is located in modern-day Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu, not far from Nan-ching.

44. By early lamp histories I refer to texts such as the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* 傳法寶紀 (Annals of the Transmission of the Treasure of the Dharma), composed ca. 713 (T.2838), and the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, composed between 713 and 716 (T.2837). On the meaning of the term "*tsung*" and the historical status of early "Ch'an lineages," see Foulk 1987:31–33.

45. McRae notes that "even the association with Mount Niu-t'ou soon became largely sentimental, for by the middle of the eighth century members of the Ox-head school were present at Mount T'ien-t'ai, in Hang-chou, Kuang-ling, and a dozen other locations throughout southeastern China" (1983:199).

46. Sekiguchi 1964:328–335; and McRae 1983:182–185.

47. Sekiguchi 1964:339–346; and McRae 1983:191–195.

48. Yanagida 1967:195–209. Yanagida has since expressed reservations concerning this earlier theory; see Yanagida 1985:411–425. The *Platform Sūtra* is thought to have been composed around the year 780.

49. McRae 1983:209, citing T.1853: 45.76a–b.

50. McRae 1983:211. The working understanding of *kuan*, or "discernment," is a function of soteriological theory in general and the exegesis of *prajñā* (wisdom) in particular. According to Chi-tsang, the difference between the Sanskrit *prajñā* and its Chinese translation *chih-hui* 智慧 "is that the latter involves the perception of objects. True *prajñā*, on the other hand, is beyond all types of discrimination, and is thus without any specific object. Wisdom is thus the understanding of the superficial veneer of phenomenal reality, while *prajñā* reaches the absolute truth of *śūnyatā* and is entirely beyond all phenomenal distinctions" (McRae 1983:210).

51. *Chuang-tzu* 33/13/4–5; trans. Watson 1968:142.

52. T.475: 14.554c28–555a4.

53. See the detailed discussion of the issue in my commentary to chapter 3 of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

54. Fu Ta-shih is also known by his given name Fu Hsi 傅翕 and his adopted religious name Shan-hui Ta-shih 善慧大士. The *Hsin-wang ming* is found in the *Shan-hui ta-shih yü-lu* 善慧大士語録 of 1143, *HTC* 120.12a–c, and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T.2076: 51.456c25–457a17.

55. S.5619; this has been reproduced in the Taishō canon: T.2831: 85.1269a17–1270a28; for a recent critical edition, see App 1995a (cf. the earlier edition in Suzuki 1968–1971:2.216–219). An overview of contemporary scholarship on the *Wu-hsin lun* can be found in Shinohara and Tanaka eds. 1980:193–198; see also the Japanese translation and study in Yanagida 1978:64–66, 80–91, and the English translation and study in App 1995b.

56. T.2076: 51.457a18–b24. There are also four Tun-huang manuscripts of the *Hsin-hsin ming*: S.4037, S.5692, P.2104, and P.4638. A later recension was published separately in the Taishō canon as T.2010: 48.376b–377a.

57. See esp. the Japanese translation by Ōmori Sōgen 大森曹玄 in Nishitani

and Yanagida eds. 1972:105–112 and the translation in Kajitani et al. 1974:2–29. Among the numerous English translations, see esp. Suzuki 1960:76–82; Clarke 1984; and Sheng-Yen 1987:23–29.

58. The earliest references to the *Hsin-hsin ming* are found in early-ninth-century materials, perhaps the first being the *Pai-chang huai-hai ch'an-shih kuang-lu* 百丈懷海禪師廣録 (*HTC* 119.411a–d; Yanagida 1967:266 n. 17). Despite the early dates for Pai-chang (749 [var. 720]–814), this compilation, which survives in the third fascicle of the *Ssu-chia yü-lu* 四家語録, can be dated no earlier than the Sung. A more reliable source for establishing a terminus ad quem for the *Hsin-hsin ming* is Ch'eng-kuan's *Ta-fang-kuang fo hua-yen-ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, which cites the *Hsin-hsin ming* by name (T.1736: 36.282c4–5).

59. T.2076: 51.457b–458a; on the *Hsin ming* see esp. Kuno 1939 and Mizuno et al. 1977:206.

60. T.1269b11–13; trans. App. 1995b:87–88, with changes.

61. T.1269c23–1270a4; trans. App 1995b:101–103, with minor changes.

62. T.2076: 51.457b20–24.

63. I borrow the translation "twofold mystery" from Livia Kohn (1991:189–211; 1992:139–154).

64. That *hsüan* is verbal is clear both because *yu* 又 is adverbial and *chih* 之 functions as a direct object (Boodberg 1979:478–479) and because it is taken as such by the Chinese commentarial tradition with which I deal below. This is particularly difficult to render into English—Boodberg suggests "mysterize." Perhaps "transcend it and again transcend [the transcending]" would best capture the sense given to it by Twofold Mystery authors. But I prefer to reserve "transcend" for *li* 離, a crucial term in the dialectics of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, and "mystery" has become the somewhat standard English gloss for *hsüan* in the *Tao-te ching*.

65. On Tu Kuang-t'ing (*tzu*: Pin-sheng 賓聖), see esp. Verellen 1989 and Sunayama 1990:416–443.

66. See *Chin-shu*, fascicle 94.1b–2b; Mather 1976:332–333, 573; and Robinet 1977:98–99.

67. On Sun T'ung (*tzu*: Ch'eng-kung 承公), see *Chin-shu* 56.16a; Lu 1993:4; and Mather 1976:574.

68. Sun Ch'o (*tzu*: Hsing-kung 興公), the younger brother of Sun T'ung, was a Buddhist layman and disciple of Chih Tun, who appears frequently in the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* as a master of pure conversation. His biography is found in fascicle 56 of the *Chin-shu*; see also Mather 1961; 1976:572; and Wilhelm 1957.

69. Sun Sheng (*tzu*: An-kuo 安國), who was first cousin of Sun T'ung and Sun Ch'o, was known as a historian with various Buddhist connections. See *Chin-shu* 82.11a–12b; Mather 1976:573; and Zürcher 1972:1.135–136.

70. T.2110: 52.536c24. This anti-Taoist polemic, composed in 626 by Fa-lin 法琳 (572–640), is filled with material pertaining to the ongoing Buddho-Taoist debates.

71. T.2103: 52.187a5; see also Robinet 1977:99–100. For his connection with the so-called T'ai-hsüan p'ai 太玄派 (Great Mystery school), see Sunayama 1980a: 39–40. On the "three ones" see my commentary to *Treasure Store Treatise*, chapter 1, section 145a24.

72. On Meng Chih-chou and his authorship of the *Meng fa-shih yü-wei ch'i-pu ching-shu mu*, see Lu 1993:37–55. For a general discussion of the three caverns and the four supplements, see Ōfuchi 1979a.

73. See Robinet 1977:100–102. According to Sunayama, he is also associated with the T'ai-hsüan school (Sunayama 1980a:40).

74. Chu Jou's name appears in the Koryŏ edition of the *Pien-cheng lun* (where it is written 諸揉) but not in the corresponding Sung, Yüan, or Ming versions (T.2110: 52.536c24). On the transmission of the *Pien-cheng lun*, see Takeuchi 1979.

75. *Chen-cheng lun*, 甄正論, T.2112: 52.569c9–15.

76. T.2149: 55.281b23–24; 382b14.

77. On the debates between the three teachings during the T'ang, see Lo 1968; Lu 1993:187–216; and Kohn 1995:34–46.

78. On Liu Chin-hsi see Wu Chi-yu 1960:11–12; Robinet 1977:102–103; and Kohn 1992:140.

79. A very brief biography is included in the *Hsin-t'ang shu*, fascicle 59, 5. 1517; see the full analysis in Yu 1998:65–89. On Ch'eng's writings, in addition to Yu's study see Fujiwara 1980a, 1980d, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c; Kohn 1992:140–142; Lu 1993:235–258; Pelliot 1913:386–388; Robinet 1977:104; and Sunayama 1980b: 125–127; 1990:245–271.

80. *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* 集古今佛道論衡, T.2104: 52.386b24–387b11; and Pelliot 1913.

81. The "Hsiang-kuo" text refers to the edition and commentary by Hsiang Hsiu 向秀 (ca. 221–ca. 300) that was later edited and expanded by Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312). A study of Ch'eng's subcommentary, the *Nan-hua-chen-ching-chu shu* 南華眞經註疏 (*HY*.745, f.507–519), is found in Yu 1998; see also the comments in Fung 1953:205–236. A smaller twelve-fascicle *Chuang-tzu* commentary by Ch'eng, the *Chuang-tzu shu* 莊子疏, is now lost, as is his commentary to the *I ching*: the *Chou-i liu-yen* 周易流演. The *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 still survives (*HY*.87, f.38–39), and Ch'eng's commentary to the *Tao-te ching* has been reconstructed from Tun-huang manuscripts (S.5887, P.2517, P.2353) by Yen Ling-feng (Yen 1983:239–728). The introduction to the commentary, *Tao-te-ching k'ai-t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu* (P.2353), of which both beginning and end are missing, has been edited by Yoshioka (1970: 110–115) and again by Robinet (1977:appendix). A French translation can be found in Robinet 1977: 227–260; for textual details see pp. 220–226.

82. See Pelliot 1913:386; and Robinet 1977:104–105.

83. T.2104: 52.386c17–19; cf. the French translation in Pelliot 1913:391.

84. T.2104: 52.387c15, 388b11.

85. On Li Jung and his oeuvre, see Fujiwara 1979, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988; Lu 1993:258–281; Robinet 1977:105–106; and Sunayama 1980a.

86. *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng*, T.2104: 52.387a–394a.

87. T.2104: 52.389c28–390a11. The term "*pen-chi*" will be discussed in detail in the introduction to the translation of chapter 3 of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, titled "The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis."

88. These are the *Tao-te chen-ching chieh-i* 道德眞經解義 (*HY*.721, f.429–430), the *Tao-te chen-ching chu* 道德眞經註 (*HY*.722, f.430), and the *Hsi-sheng-ching chu*

西昇經注 (preserved in *HY*.726, f.449–450). Editions of the first two texts can be found in Yen 1983:729–1019. On the *Hsi-sheng-ching chu*, see Fujiwara 1983 and 1985.

89. Robinet 1977:107. For the *Hai-k'ung ching*, see below.

90. A partial list of Fujiwara's many articles on the subject is found in the bibliography.

91. See esp. Robinet 1977; and Kohn 1991:189–211; 1992:139–146.

92. This scripture also goes by two longer titles, *T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao-ching* 太玄眞一本際妙經 and *T'ung-ch'ang pen-chi miao-ching* 通常本際妙經. The second fascicle appears in the *Tao-tsang* as the *T'ai-hsüan chen-i pen-chi miao-ching* 太玄眞一本際妙經 (*HY*.1103, f.758). The ninth fascicle is found as the *T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao k'ai-yen pi-mi-tsang ching* 太上洞玄靈寶開演祕密藏經 (*HY*.329, f.167). The Tun-huang texts have been published in Wu Chi-yu 1960; see also Kamata 1963a:170–178; 1968:53–56; Lu 1993:220–235; Ōfuchi 1978:36–45; and Sunayama 1990:212–244.

93. T.2112: 52.569c9–15.

94. A complete list can be found in Wu Chi-yu 1960:2–3. In addition to the eighty-one extant manuscripts, there are two fragments from commentaries: P.3027 (a commentary to fascicle 2) and P.2361 (a commentary to fascicle 3). Complete manuscripts exist for only the second and third fascicles (P.2393, P.2795).

95. *HY*.1116, f.760. The full title in the *Tao-tsang* is *Tung-hsüan ling-pao hsüan-men ta-i* 洞玄靈寶玄門大義; see Lu 1993:322–330; Sunayama 1980a:34–35; and Kamata 1968:173.

96. *HY*.1121, f.762–763. See Kamata 1963a; 1968:67–74, 173–211; Lu 1993: 322–344; Yoshioka 1970:309–368; Barrett 1991:6–7; Kohn 1992:149–154; Nienhauser ed. 1986:147–148; and Ōfuchi 1979a:255–256 n. 5. Yoshioka believed the text to have been composed around the same time as Tao-hsüan's *Kuang hung-ming chi* (i.e., around 649), while Kamata placed the text in the early eighth century. On the basis of more recent evidence, Ōfuchi dates it to around 700.

97. S.3380. According to Ōfuchi 1978 this text is the same as the *T'ai-shang ling-pao hsi-yü shen-hsin ching* 太上靈寶洗浴身心經 and the *Tung-hsüan ling-pao miao-pen ch'ing-ching mu-yü shen-hsin ching* 洞玄靈寶妙本清淨沐浴身心經, which are now lost. See also Ōfuchi 1979b:132.

98. Hsüan-i's comment appears in T.2112: 52.569c13–14. Although attributed to Li Jung, the *Hsi-yü shen-hsin ching* is a devotional and ritual text and does not bear the marks of Twofold Mystery thought. This does not, however, exclude the possibility of Li Jung's authorship.

99. Yoshioka 1976:238–243. This text appears in the *Tao-tsang* as the *T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao san-yüan yü-ching hsüan-tu ta-hsien ching* 太上洞玄靈寶三元玉京玄都大獻經 (*HY*.370, f.181). It was also found at Tun-huang (S.3061) with the title *T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao chung-yüan yü-ching hsüan-tu ta-hsien ching* 太上洞玄靈寶中元玉京玄都大獻經. For a discussion of the manuscript edition, in addition to Yoshioka see Sunayama 1980a:37.

100. T.2112: 52.569c14–15.

101. T.2112: 52.569c15. The *Tao-tsang* title is *T'ai-shang tz'u-pei tao-ch'ang hsiao-tsai chiu-yu ch'an* 太上慈悲道場消災九幽懺 (*HY*.543, f.297–299); see Yoshioka 1970: 393; 1976:237–238.

102. See T.2112: 52.569c12–13. The full title of the text is *T'ai-shang i-sheng hai-k'ung chih-tsang ching* 太上一乘海空智藏經 (*HY*.9, f.20–22). This large ten-fascicle work, like the others in this list, borrows heavily from Buddhist sources, notably the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* and a variety of Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha works. See Kamata 1963a:178–194; 1968:63–67, 82–100; Lu 1993:286–301; Sunayama 1990:305–324; Bokenkamp 1990:132–134; and Kohn 1992:147–149.

103. T.2112: 52.569c9–15.

104. The *Hsüan-men ta-i* and the *Tao-chiao i-shu* are both included in the *T'ai-hsüan pu* 太玄部 section of the Taoist canon. In the "three-cavern-four-supplement" (*san-tung ssu-fu* 三洞四輔) division of the canon, the *T'ai-hsüan pu* is given the highest position among the four supplements and constitutes the nucleus of the T'ai-hsüan school. Sunayama insists that Meng Chih-chou, who was pivotal in the T'ai-hsüan school and was also a "proto–Twofold Mystery" figure, effects a connection between the two traditions. Indeed, he refers to the T'ai-hsüan school as a "proto–Twofold Mystery school."

Sunayama traces Ling-pao school influences on the Twofold Mystery school through the Liang Taoist Sung Wen-ming 宋文明, who was active in the transmission of the Ling-pao scriptures and who participated in Buddho-Taoist debates. The *Hsüan-men ta-i* seems to be influenced by both the T'ai-hsüan school and the Ling-pao school. Finally, Sunayama argues that Fa-lin, in his *Pien-cheng lun* (T.2110: 52.536c), links together a number of figures who are associated with the Twofold Mystery school, the T'ai-hsüan school, and the Ling-pao school (Sunayama 1980a:39–41).

105. Note that while early Ch'an genealogies are apocryphal in that they often misrepresent the historical relations between actual persons, this practice in itself did not necessarily impugn their authority. The tradition used the lineage myth in a variety of ways, some of which implicitly acknowledge its ideological (rather than historical) status. The ritual, ideological, and institutional nature of Ch'an transmission is brought to the fore in a number of well-known cases: T'ou-tzu I-ch'ing 投子義青 (1032–1083), for example, was a student of Fu-shan Fa-yüan 浮山法遠 (991–1067) in the Lin-chi 臨濟 line but inherited the dharma of the Ts'ao-tung 曹洞 monk Ta-yang Ching-hsüan 大陽警玄 (943–1027), who died several years before I-ch'ing was born (Foulk and Sharf 1993–1994:201–202). There are also occasions when transmission transpired via the mail between persons who never met. Dainichi Nōnin 大日能忍, for example, sent two disciples to Sung China in 1189 bearing a letter and gifts in the hope of having his enlightenment acknowledged by a Chinese master. The gifts were presented to Cho-an Te-kuang 拙庵德光 (1121–1203), who obliged Nōnin's request, sending back physical tokens of the patriarchy and a verse honoring Nōnin's achievement (*Dai Nippon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 63:273; Faure 1987:28). In more recent times Holmes Welch records the case of a Taiwanese monk who transmitted the dharma to a Chinese living in Burma "without ever having met him and, indeed, without even finding out whether he would accept" (Welch 1967:315).

106. Kamata collected many of these references in his examination of the Taoist influence on Ch'eng-kuan, but at the same time he cites Fujiwara for his discovery of the Twofold Mystery school (Kamata 1965:276). Kamata is thus led to the conclusion that the presence of "twofold mystery" and related terms in

Buddhist materials bespeaks the pervasive influence of Twofold Mystery Taoism on medieval Buddhist exegesis.

107. T.2837: 85.1290c5; Yanagida 1971:312; Faure 1984: 768.

108. T.1485: 24.1015b28; Yanagida 1971:317. This text is traditionally considered to be a translation by Chu Fo-nien 竺佛念 completed in 374, but it is now believed to be a fifth-century Chinese work composed sometime after 436. On the dating of the text, see Ōno 1954:164–165 and Barrett 1982.

109. Chih Tun was among the earliest Buddhist exegetes to use the term. It is found in a poem of his preserved in the *Kuang hung-ming chi* (T.2103: 52.350b18) as well as in his *Ta-hsiao-p'in tui-pi yao ch'ao-hsü* 大小品對比要抄序 (T.2145: 55.55a17). The term is also found in the *Chao lun* (T.1858: 45.160b20), although the exact sense of Seng-chao's usage is unclear (see note 114 below). Note also the references to "twofold mystery" in the following later Buddhist materials: Hui-ta's preface to the *Chao lun* (T.1858: 45.150b26); the *Chao-lun shu* by Yüan-k'ang (T.1859: 45.164b13); the *Chu-fa wu-cheng san-mei fa-men* 諸法無諍三昧法門 by Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu 南岳慧思 (T.1923: 46.632a22–23); the *Ching-ming hsüan lun* 淨名玄論 and the *Chung-kuan-lun shu* 中觀論疏 by Chi-tsang (T.1780: 38.856b; and T.1824: 42.3c); the *Pen-yeh-ching shu* 本業經疏 by Wŏnhyo 元曉 (*HPC* 1.498a3, 499c18–19; see also his *Ch'i-hsin-lun shu* 起信論疏, T.1844: 44.202a22); the *Hsiao chih-kuan* 小止觀 by Chih-i (T.1915: 46.474a5); the *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh* 止觀輔行傳弘決 by Chan-jan (T.1912: 46.239a18); the *Ching-ming-ching kuan-chung shih-ch'ao* 淨名經關中釋抄 by Tao-i 道液 (T.2778: 85.525a9); the *Hsin-hua-yen-ching lun* 新華嚴經論 by Li T'ung-hsüan 李通玄 (T.1739: 36.742a and 747a); and the *Hua-yen-ching shu* 華嚴經疏 and *Yen-i ch'ao* 演義鈔 by Ch'eng-kuan (T.1735: 35.503a; and T.1736: 36.8a1 and passim). Finally, see the *Pien-cheng lun*, where "twofold mystery" is mentioned among a list of Taoist practices (T.2110: 52.498c1), and the *Chen cheng lun*, where the term appears in a refutation of the Taoist "conversion of the barbarians" theory (T.2112: 52.565c22–23). See Kamata 1965:276–288; Yanagida 1971:317–318; and Faure 1984:780–781.

110. Friederike Assandri, in a personal communication, reports that the *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* portrays these Taoists as "monks" (*ch'u-chia* 出家) and that their writings indicate familiarity with T'ien-shih-tao, Ling-pao, and San-huang scriptures, but he fails to find any direct evidence of an association with a specific Taoist ordination lineage or institution. Assandri goes on to suggest that, at the very least, the Twofold Mystery Taoist authors would have been initiated into the *San-huang ching* 三皇經 , as there is evidence that this was required of all Taoist priests with land allotments during the early T'ang (*Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng* T.2104: 52.386a21–b23; Barrett 1996:24–25).

111. Personal communication. Assandri's work, as of yet unpublished, promises to uncover the social, institutional, and ideological context of these T'ang Taoist authors. On the notion of "Taoist Mahāyāna," see also Kohn 1992:140.

112. *HY.*721, f.430: 1.4a.

113. Sunayama 1980a:39, citing fascicles 20 and 74 of the text. The *Wu-shang pi-yao* (*HY.*1130, f.768–779) was commissioned by Emperor Wu of the Chou dynasty in 574; over thirty of its original one hundred fascicles are now lost. On this text see esp. Lagerwey 1981 and Lu 1993:97–136.

114. For the textual references see note 109 above. The exact sense of *ch'ung-hsüan chih yü* 重玄之域 (region of the twofold mystery) in Seng-chao's work is not entirely clear, as it may be a metaphorical reference to the *Shang-ch'ing hsüan-tu* 上清玄都 of the *Wu-shang pi-yao*. Tsukamoto understands it simply as the "extremely profound and recondite realm of non-action" (重玄[極めておくふかい]なる[無爲の]世界; Tsukamoto ed. 1955:1.82). The same expression is also found in the works of Ch'eng Hsüan-ying; see, for example, his commentary to the *Chuang-tzu*: "The realm of the ultimate Tao is the region of the twofold mystery, which even the mind of the sage cannot know and even the spirits cannot discuss" 至道之境、重玄之域、聖心所不能知、神口所不能弁 (quoted in Fujiwara 1961:34).

115. T.1485: 24.1015b28.

116. This is the approach of Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu, celebrated as the forerunner of the T'ien-t'ai lineage, in his *Chu-fa wu-cheng san-mei fa-men* (T.1923: 46.632a22–23); see Yanagida 1971:317; and Barrett 1982:39. According to later T'ien-t'ai exegesis, this reversion to the mundane was necessary in order to assist all beings prior to one's final liberation.

117. *Pen-yeh-ching shu* 本業經疏, *HPC* 1.498a3, 499c18–19.

118. Barrett notes that the assimilation of the two terms creates certain doctrinal difficulties (1982:39) and follows Robinson in finding evidence of a prior association between "twofold mystery" and the "emptiness of emptiness" in the preface to the *Shih-erh-men lun* 十二門論 by Seng-jui 僧叡 (352–436). Seng-jui does not actually use the term "*ch'ung-hsüan*" but rather uses "*liang-hsüan*" 兩玄, or "twice mysterious": "When you approach reality, then the empty and the real are both merged, and there is no boundary between attainment and loss. When they are merged and unbounded, then you can abandon all hazards in the *twice mysterious*, drown calamities in the singular destination, return your carriage evenly to the *bodhimaṇḍa*, and ultimately bring your mind to the stage of buddhahood" (T.1568: 30.159b13–15; trans. follows Robinson 1976:208–209 with changes). In his gloss to Seng-jui's use of *liang-hsüan*, Chi-tsang quotes Lao-tzu's "Render it mysterious and again mysterious; the gateway to the myriad wonders" and then goes on to equate *liang-hsüan* with *ch'ung-hsüan* (*Shih-erh-men lun shu* 十二門論疏, T.1825: 42.173b11–13; Robinson 1976:301 n. 16). Seng-jui aside, the association of twofold mystery and the emptiness of emptiness can be found in the *Pei-shan i-wen* 北山移文 (Dispatch to North Mountain), a composition in parallel prose by K'ung Chih-kuei 孔稚珪 (447–501). In lauding the hermit Chou Yung 周顒 (?–485), K'ung Chih-kuei says that "he discussed the emptiness of emptiness of the Buddhists and investigated the mystery of mysteries of the Taoists" 談空空於釋部、覈玄玄於道流 (*Wen hsüan* 文選, fascicle 43, 2.958; thanks to Tim Barrett for the reference).

119. The *Yen-i ch'ao* by Ch'eng-kuan, for example, reiterates the equivalence between twofold mystery and the emptiness of emptiness, citing Lao-tzu, Ho-shang Kung 河上公, and Chuang-tzu by name (T.1736: 36.8a3–8).

120. Yoshioka 1970:114–115; cf. Robinet 1977:256; and the extended analysis in Yu 1998:95–134.

121. The undecided questions concern whether or not the universe is eternal, whether or not it is bounded, whether or not the Tathāgata exists after his death,

and whether or not the soul is identical with the body. In the classical formulation of the *catuṣkoṭi*, for each question four alternative positions are enumerated—the affirmation of the thesis, the denial of the thesis (or the counterthesis), the simultaneous assertion of both, and the denial of both (e.g., "Is the universe infinite, finite, both infinite and finite, or neither infinite nor finite?"). Implicit in this rhetorical structure is the conviction that the four alternatives exhaust all logical possibilities. In the context of the undecided questions, the Buddha refuses to affirm or deny any of the four possible positions. (See, for example, *Majjhimanikāya* 63 and 72 [Trenckner 1:426 and 486].) On the *avyākṛtavastūni*, and *catuṣkoṭi* see Nagao 1955; Organ 1954; Raju 1954; Robinson 1972; 1976:54–58; and Ruegg 1977.

122. The key to Nāgārjuna's refutation of all views lies in his sharply constrained use of the term "*svabhāva*" (own-being) that guarantees philosophical paradox. For something to exist in an absolute sense—to possess *svabhāva*—it must exist independent of all other phenomena. The thrust of Nāgārjuna's arguments is to show that all things exist relationally and hence are devoid of own-being. Such "empty" phenomena cannot be the subject of predication, and thus all philosophical propositions concerning the world are ultimately unfounded.

123. On the two truths see esp. the collection of essays in Sprung ed. 1973 and Faure 1991:53–78.

124. The shift in perspective between the two truths might be likened to the shift from *āgama*-style discourse to *abhidharma* analysis—from a description of the world in terms of interacting persons to a description of the world in terms of the cause and effect relationships between the irreducible constituents of reality (dharmas). In abhidharmic analysis all reference to the self (*pudgala*) drops away, and thus abhidharmic discourse is more "enlightened" insofar as it mitigates unwarranted reification and attachment.

125. *Erh-ti i* 二諦義, T.1854: 45.90c29–91a14; trans. follows Wing-tsit Chan 1963: 360, with changes.

126. Mahāyāna dialectic is spiral in that it continually circles back upon itself. The paradigmatic form is "A dharma is a non-dharma, and therefore it is a dharma." This formula, repeated in different guises ad nauseam throughout the *prajñāpāramitā* literature, states that since dharmas are devoid of own-being (*svabhāva*), they are "non-dharmas," or "empty" dharmas. But this claim is not to be construed as asserting the absolute nonexistence of dharmas. Dharmas exist conditionally, within the web of dependent-origination. This conditional existence is absolute existence insofar as it is the only sort of existence possible, and thus dharmas are dharmas. One returns to the starting point, yet not quite, as one now understands the nature of dharmas in the context of emptiness and dependent-origination.

127. While the Hsiang-kuo commentary is traditionally seen as affirming the ontological priority of the phenomenal world, it does foreshadow some of the dialectical rhetoric found in later Buddhist and Twofold Mystery texts; note, for example, the following passage: "[The Sage] after having abandoned right and wrong again abandons his [intention of] abandoning. Abandoning and abandoning again, he reaches the point where there is nothing to be abandoned [any more]. Then, without abandoning, there is nothing which is not abandoned,

and right and wrong have automatically ceased to be" (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 edition, 1.18a; trans. Zürcher 1972:1.91).

128. Trans. D. C. Lau 1963:60, based on his emendation of 盈 to 窮.

129. *Tao-te chen-ching chu*, *HY*.722, f.430: 1.1.9a; cf. Robinet 1977:113.

130. From the introduction to Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's commentary to the *Tao-te ching*, Yoshioka edition, 1970:113; cf. Robinet 1977:245. The distinction is also featured in section 27, fascicle 8, of the *Tao-chiao i-shu* (*HY*.1121, f.762–763; see below).

131. Sk. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, translated by Mokṣala in 291. T.221: 8.67a7, 78a28.

132. From the essay *Po-jo wu-chih lun* 般若無知論 (*Prajñā* Is without Knowing), T.1858: 45.154a10–13; trans. Robinson 1976:217; cf. Tsukamoto ed. 1955:1.30.

133. T.1853: 45.55b3–5, 10–12.

134. *HY*.1121, f.762–763: 8.3a5–6.

135. See Fa-tsang's *Hua-yen-ching t'an-hsüan chi* 華嚴經探玄記, composed during the period 687–695, T.1733: 35.195a; and Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's *Tso-wang lun* 坐忘論, *HY*.1030, f.704: 11b; Kohn 1987a:103.

136. *HY*.1030, f.704: 13b.

137. *Tao-hsing i* 道性義, section 29, 8.5a5–6.

138. T.475: 14.538c5.

139. T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971:67.

140. On the T'ang use of Taoist ideology and the *Tao-te ching* for political purposes, see Barrett 1996; Benn 1977, 1987; and Twitchett ed. 1979:411–413. Victor Xiong takes exception to Benn's belief that Hsüan-tsung's motivations were primarily political. According to Xiong, the T'ang emperor's promotion of Taoism was motivated in large part by his personal quest for immortality; see Xiong 1996:296–301.

141. See Barrett 1996:42–43; and Benn 1977:52–53.

142. A discussion of this controversy can be found in Hung 1957:78–83; and Benn 1977:125–126, 366–367 n. 20. On the Ho-shang Kung commentary itself, see Alan Chan 1991; Erkes 1958; Hung 1957:121 n. 76; and Kusayama 1979.

143. A translation of the decree of 741 can be found in Xiong 1996:312–313; see also Benn 1977:255–275.

144. Benn 1977:258–259; Twitchett ed. 1979:411.

145. This was not the first time the *Tao-te ching* was elevated to the highest level; it had been classed among the superior scriptures (*shang-ching* 上經) by imperial order in 678, but it was not until Hsüan-tsung's time that it actually superseded the status of the Confucian canon (Benn 1977:276–277).

146. A translation of the decree can be found in Xiong 1996:313; see also p. 268 and Benn 1977:277.

147. Barrett 1996:69. On Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen—the twelfth patriarch of Shang-ch'ing Taoism—and his *Tso-wang lun*, see Kohn 1987a. In a personal communication Friederike Assandri notes that this sort of gentry Taoism can be traced as far back as the Eastern Chin; Sun Teng, discussed above, would seem to represent a "nondenominational" Taoism suffused with Buddhist ideas. This tendency develops in the south during the succeeding Northern and Southern Dynasties period (317–589), when debates occur between Buddhists and Taoists not unlike those of the T'ang, in which both sides aver to the authority of the *Tao-te ching*.

2. Chinese Buddhism and the Cosmology of Sympathetic Resonance

1. See Wu Hung 1986 and the discussion in the introduction to this volume.

2. The nature of Chinese "correlative thinking" has fascinated generations of sinologists ever since the monumental study by Wolfram Eberhard (1933), still the most comprehensive work in a Western language. There is an extensive secondary literature on correlative thinking and five-phase theory, from which I have drawn freely in my discussion below. See esp. Bodde 1981a, 1981c; Cammann 1961; DeWoskin 1982:67–83; Eno 1990; Feuchtwang 1974:40–48; Fung 1953:7–87; Graham 1986; 1989:319–358; Granet 1930:115–299; Hay 1983:97–101; Henderson 1984:1–58; Ho and Needham 1959; Hsiao 1979; Jullien 1995; Le Blanc 1985; Loewe 1982:38–47; Major 1978; 1993:28–32; Munakata 1983; Needham 1956: 232–345; Porkert 1974:1–106; Rubin 1982; and Schwartz 1985:350–382.

3. The common use of the term "element" for *hsing* can be traced to misconceptions on the part of early European missionaries to China (Porkert 1974:45). It continues to be used by some even though *hsing* carries none of the connotations of "essential material substance" associated with the term "element" in medieval European alchemy or modern science. *Hsing* is etymologically and semantically closer to "passage" or "process," and I will stick with "phase," as suggested by Nathan Sivin. See, however, the reservations expressed by Schwartz, who notes that "if the term 'five elements' overemphasizes the role of the 'static substances,' the terms 'phases' and 'activities' overlook the role of static substances and categories within the entire syndrome of the *wu hsing*" (1985:455 n. 16). Graham prefers to distinguish between early (pre-Han) usage, for which the translation "process" or "conduct" is preferred, and later (Han and post-Han) usage, for which "phase" is more appropriate (1986:74–77, 89–92).

4. Needham 1956:281, 287; see also Bodde 1981b, 1981c; and Mote 1971:17–20.

5. The most important early source for Tsou Yen, the *Shih chi* 史記, places him in the Chi-hsia 稷下 academy at the time of King Hsüan 宣 of Ch'i (319–301 B.C.). This source along with a reference in the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 led to a traditional fourth-century dating. A recent study by the late Chinese scholar Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 concludes, however, that Tsou Yen was alive at the time of the defeat of Yen in 242 B.C. (Graham 1986:12). There is little evidence that the "naturalists" ever existed as an independent school; Tsou Yen is the only member of this "school" whose ideas are recorded in the *Shih-chi* (fascicle 74), and although Ssu-ma Ch'ien calls his school the *yin-yang chia*, surviving fragments of Tsou's work do not contain any mention of *yin-yang*. Henderson suggests that by "consigning numerological speculations and occult ideas to a particular classical school, all taint of such ideas could be removed from classical Confucianism and Taoism. One could thus attribute the embarrassing appearance of questionable cosmological conceptions in the postclassical Confucian and Taoist traditions to an extrinsic source" (1984:35). Four relatively recent views of the early development of Chinese correlative thinking before the Han can be found in Rubin 1982; Henderson 1984: 1–14, 28–46; Schwartz 1985:356–378; and Graham 1986:70–92.

6. Needham believes the *Hung-fan* was not incorporated into the text until the early second century B.C. (1956:247); see also Schwartz 1985:366.

7. Trans. Legge 1961:3.323–326. Graham disagrees with the traditional interpretation of the *Hung-fan* references to the five phases and offers an alternative translation (1986:77–78).

8. Eberhard 1933, summarized in Needham 1956:253–261.

9. Summarized in Needham 1956:262–264.

10. I have limited myself to the briefest overview of five-phase cosmology, which is sufficient for the purposes at hand. In particular, I have ignored significant differences in the usage of the term "*wu-hsing*" in pre-Han materials. I have chosen to focus instead on the clearly cosmological sense of the term as epitomized in the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* and accepted throughout the medieval period; for a full account see Graham 1986:70–92.

11. Munakata 1983:106; see also the discussion in Harbsmeier 1998:218–229.

12. Bodde explains that he uses the word "categorical" "not in its logical sense of unconditional, absolute, etc., but in the sense of something that is classified or divided" (1981c:141).

13. *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 4.61; trans. Mather 1976:123, with changes; cf. Needham 1956:304.

14. *Chuang-tzu* 66/24/43–44; trans. Watson 1968:267–268.

15. See Le Blanc 1978:224. The *Huai-nan-tzu* passage closely parallels that of the *Chuang-tzu*: "When the lute tuner strikes the *kung* note [on one instrument], the *kung* note [on the other instrument] responds; when he plucks the *chiao* note [on one instrument], the *chiao* note [on the other instrument] vibrates. This results from having corresponding music notes in mutual harmony" (*Huai-nan-tzu* 6b.9–11; trans. Le Blanc 1978:222). Hal Roth has argued that the compilers of the *Chuang-tzu* were the same scholars at the court of Liu An 劉安 (d. 122 B.C.) responsible for the compilation of the *Huai-nan-tzu*, which would account for the striking similarities between these and other passages (Roth 1991).

16. Honda 1978:55; trans. Lynn 1994:137; cf. Wilhelm 1967:382.

17. From the *Ch'i-chien* 七諫 (Seven Remonstrances) section of the *Ch'u tz'u*; trans. Hawkes 1985:257.

18. Tung's biography is found in chapter 56 of the *Ch'ien-han shu* 前漢書. As the major representative of the "new text school" in the Western Han, he has been the subject of many important studies. For an overview of his thought, see Fung 1953:7–87; Wing-tsit Chan 1963:271–288; and Hsiao 1979:484–503.

19. Trans. Ho and Needham 1959:189; cf. Wing-tsit Chan 1963:282–283; Needham 1956:281–282; and Fung 1953:56.

20. The six *ch'i* are mentioned in the *Tso-chuan* 左傳 (Duke Chao 1, Legge 1961:5.573, 581–582) as well as the *Chuang-tzu*, the *Kuan-tzu* 管子, and the *Kuo yü* 國語; see the analysis and references in Graham 1986:70–74.

21. Trans. Needham 1956:275–276; cf. Wing-tsit Chan 1963:283–284; and Fung 1953:56.

22. Trans. Needham 1956:282; cf. Wing-tsit Chan 1963:284.

23. *Huai-nan-tzu* 6/3a–b; trans. Le Blanc 1978:193.

24. Wang Ch'ung devotes a chapter to *kan-lei* in his *Lun-heng* 論衡 (18.2); see Forke 1962b:16–29.

25. References to the *lei* sacrifice can be found in the *Erh-ya*, the *Li chi*, the *Chou-li*, and Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 commentaries (Munakata 1983:109, 129).

26. Such rituals are attested in the oracle-bone record (where they are called *ch'ih* 赤) and continued to be performed down through the medieval period, often by Buddhist monks. On rainmaking rituals in China, see Schafer 1951; Cohen 1978; Needham 1956:135; Munakata 1983:110; and Benn 1998:310–312.

27. 5.4.34; Legge 1961:3.340–341.

28. Trans. Hurvitz in Tsukamoto 1985:2.470.

29. *Hsün-tzu* 71/18/26–28; trans. Watson 1967:94.

30. See the extended Wittgensteinian analysis of *li* in Eno 1990; Fingarette 1972; and Schwartz 1985:67–75.

31. Discussions of the architecture and function of the *ming-t'ang* can be found in Cammann 1961:43–44; Forte 1988; Henderson 1984:75–82; Ledderose 1980; Liu 1973; Major 1984; Maspero 1951; Sickman and Soper 1956:212; Soothill 1951; Stein 1990:238–243; Wechsler 1985:195–211; and Wheatley 1971:470–471. Forte's study includes a detailed discussion of the relationship between the *ming-t'ang* built during the reign of the Empress Wu, which housed an astronomical observatory, and the Buddhist *t'ien-t'ang* 天堂 (celestial hall) built at the same time. The *t'ien-t'ang*, which was located to the north of the *ming-t'ang*, was a grand five-storied pagoda associated with Maitreya and identified as a pure land.

32. Granet 1926:118; cited in Forte 1988:25.

33. Trans. Soothill 1951:25. The *Ming-t'ang ta-tao lu*, published around 1740, is a work in eight fascicles attributed to Hui Tung 惠棟, son of the historian and astronomer Hui Shih-ch'i 惠士奇 (1670–1741).

34. *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, fascicle 13; trans. Bodde in Fung 1953:48.

35. *Chuang-tzu* 33/13/2–8; trans. Watson 1968:142–143.

36. Trans. Bodde in Fung 1953:171–172, with some changes.

37. *Chuang-tzu chu* 1.6a; trans. Zürcher 1972:1.91.

38. *Mencius* 4B11; trans. Legge 1961:2.321–322.

39. *Hsün-tzu* 8/86–87; trans. Eno 1990:177.

40. *Hsün-tzu* 21/66–67; trans. Eno 1990:177.

41. *Mencius* 7A13, trans. Legge 1961:2.455; cf. *Chung-yung* 中庸 25, trans. Legge 1961:1.418–419.

42. This issue is reminiscent of Indian Buddhist debates concerning the status of the *arhat*. The so-called five theses (Sk. *pañcavastu*), attributed in some traditions to Mahādeva, concern such issues as whether or not an *arhat* is subject to nocturnal emissions, to undefiled ignorance (ignorance of the names of persons, clans, or trees), to doubt, and so on (Lamotte 1988:274–286; La Vallée Poussin 1910). In both cases the question concerns the degree to which the supermundane achievements of the sage affect his cognition and behavior within the mundane realm.

43. *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 4/57; trans. Mather 1976:122. Mather also provides a brief summary of the debate.

44. Mather 1976:122. See also the discussion in Fung 1953:187–189. The distinction made by Wang Pi between emotions, which the sage may possess, and attachment, which he may not, may well have been influenced by Buddhist epistemology and path theory.

45. On the concept of *pao*, see esp. Campany 1996:367–369; Martinson 1973:59–135; and Yang Lien-sheng 1957. On *pao* in the context of Buddhist filial

piety—i.e., repaying the debt owed to one's parents—see Cole 1998:41–55 and passim.

46. Such tales, circulated in dozens of popular anthologies, have been the focus of studies by Robert Campany (1993, 1996), Donald E. Gjertson (1978, 1981, 1989), and Franciscus Verellen (1992). One of the collections, now lost, was titled *Tales of Sympathetic Response* (*Kan-ying chuan* 感應傳, attributed to the fifth-century scholar Wang Yen-hsiu 王延秀); see Gjertson 1989:22–23.

47. See Gjertson 1989:137; and Teiser 1988:168–195; 1994.

48. In one entertaining example a woman was unfairly punished because the chief clerk lost her records. Fortunately, the mistake was eventually discovered and rectified; see Gjertson 1989:138.

49. *HY*.1159, f.834–839. This rather simple work, the authorship of which is unknown, is found in the Taoist canon along with an extensive commentary by Li Ch'ang-ling 李昌齡 (fl. 1233). Some Sung commentators attribute the work to Ko Hung, author of the *Pao-p'u-tzu*, but current scholarship dates the work to the twelfth century. The text underwent considerable expansion in later centuries and was the subject of numerous commentaries; for bibliographic information see Legge 1962:1.38–40; Balazs and Hervouet eds. 1978:370–371; Loon 1984:89; Boltz 1987:208, 328 n. 573; and Brokaw 1991:36–43. There are a number of Western translations, including Coyle 1981; Julien 1835; Legge 1962:2.235–246; Suzuki and Carus 1973; Webster 1918; and Wong 1988.

50. On the connection between the *Pao-p'u-tzu* and the *Kan-ying p'ien*, see Yang Lien-sheng 1957:300.

51. HY 1159.1.1a–21a; trans. Brokaw 1991:36.

52. Schwartz argues that Needham goes too far in depicting Tung Chung-shu as a naturalist and draws attention to such terms as "mind of heaven" (*t'ien-hsin* 天心) and "heavenly intent" (*t'ien i* 天意) in the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*. Even in this early period the system of correlative cosmology contained both naturalistic and anthropomorphic elements (Schwartz 1985:370–372).

53. On Wang Ch'ung see esp. Forke 1962a, 1962b; Fung 1953:150–167; Needham 1956:368–389; and Loewe 1982; on Ou-yang Hsiu see Liu 1967:155–172. For a discussion of an early-ninth-century debate on the nature of heaven, see Lamont 1973–1974.

54. See the *Tao-te-ching k'ai-t'i hsü-chüeh i-shu*, fascicle 4.9b, discussed in Robinet 1977:140–142.

55. *HY*.1121, f.763: 10.3a–4b.

56. On *ko-i* see esp. T'ang 1950; Wright 1959:37–38; and Zürcher 1972:1.184.

57. See, for example, Lai 1979, which largely ignores the discussion by Zürcher.

58. *Saṃyuttanikāya* 3.120. Statements to this effect appear throughout the Pāli canon; on the significance of this doctrine, see esp. Mus 1998:51–90.

59. T.639: 15.551b7–13. This corresponds to the second chapter of the Sanskrit manuscript; see the translation in Gómez and Silk 1989:65, verses 13 and 14.

60. On the ultimate silence of the Buddha, a doctrine that may have evolved out of the Buddha's silence with regard to the "undecided questions" (Sk. *avyākṛtavastūni*), see Nagao 1955 and Eckel 1992.

61. This is from the final verse of chapter 25, T.1564: 30.36a27–b3.

62. Trans. from the Tibetan in Eckel 1992:49; cf. the corresponding passage

in the Chinese translation: *Ju-lai pu-ssu-i pi-mi ta-sheng ching* 如來不思議祕密大乘經, translated by Fa-hu 法護 (Dharmapāla?, 963–1058), T.312: 11.719b20–c3.

63. An excellent summary of the buddha-body doctrine can be found under the entry "Busshin" 佛身 in *Hōbōgirin* 2.174–185. See also Harrison 1992; La Vallée Poussin 1906; Makransky 1997; Nagao 1973; and Suzuki 1930:308–338.

64. Harrison argues, however, that in early Mahāyāna texts, *dharmakāya* does not denote the eternal or absolute buddha-body but rather the totality of all dharmas (the "body of dharmas") and that this meaning is retained in many later sūtras as well, including the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and even the *Laṅkāvatāra*. As such, the original Mahāyāna understanding of *dharmakāya* was essentially congruent with "mainstream" Buddhist scriptures (Harrison 1992). A somewhat similar argument was made as early as 1935 by Paul Mus (1998).

65. The relevant section is found in T.262: 9.57a23–b21. A full translation can be found in Hurvitz 1976:314–315. See esp. Campany 1993 for a discussion of the religious significance of the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經 in China.

66. **Kṣitigarbhapraṇidhāna-sūtra*, translated by Śikṣānanda sometime between 695 and 700 (T.412). See the study in Visser 1913–1914 and the English translation in Heng Ching 1974. *Fen-shen*, "reduplication-bodies" or "emanation-bodies," often occurs as an alternative translation for *nirmāṇakāya* as well as *ātmabhāvanirmita*. For the latter see chapter 11 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, T.262: 9.32c25–33a1 and passim.

67. T.262: 9.57a23–25.

68. T.412: 13.779b18–26.

69. Trans. Suzuki 1978:50–52, with minor changes.

70. The Nepalese manuscript, in the possession of the London Asiatic Society, was edited by B. Nanjio in 1923 and again by P. L. Vaidya in 1963.

71. This chart is adapted from *Hōbōgirin* 2.179–180 and Suzuki 1930:326.

72. T.1592: 31.109c22–28; translated by Buddhaśānta in 531. Hsüan-tsang has *tzu-hsing-shen* 自性身, *shou-yung-shen* 受用身, and *pien-hua-shen* 變化身, respectively, and *fa-shen* 法身 is used rather than *fo-shen* (T.1594: 31.149a18–26). See also the analysis and Japanese translation of the latter in Nagao 1987:314–319.

73. T.673: 16.651c2. This sūtra was translated by Jñānayaśas 闍那耶舍 in 570.

74. T.664: 16.359b–402a. This text was compiled by Pao-kuei 寶貴 in 597, using earlier versions, including those by Paramārtha and the joint version by Yaśogupta and Jñānagupta. See also the translation completed in 703 by I-ching (T.665), which was responsible for the popularity of the work in East Asia. The *buddhakāya* theory appears in chapter 3 of the first fascicle of the Pao-kuei translation titled *San-shen fen-pieh p'in* 三身分別品 (T.664: 16.362c11–365b10); the same chapter is also included at the beginning of fascicle 2 of the I-ching translation (T.665: 16.408b5–411b16) but is not found in the early translation by Dharmarakṣa (T.663) or in the extant Sanskrit edition.

75. T.664: 16.363a26–b4. See also the discussions in *Hōbōgirin* 2.180–181; MZ 1.335a; and Suzuki 1930:311–314.

76. From the I-ching translation (missing in Pao-kuei).

77. 身見衆生怖畏歡喜故. This phrase is not altogether clear. The corresponding phrase in the I-ching translation begins with 爲除 "in order to eliminate the …"

78. 如來相應如如如如智願力故; cf. I-ching, who has 如實相應如如如如智本願力故.

79. T.664: 16.362c22–363a3; cf. T.665: 16.408b15–26; and Suzuki 1930:311–312.

80. T.664: 16.363c17–23.

81. For Shan-tao's handling of this problem, see the discussion in Seah 1975: 337–340. Seah notes that Shan-tao was aware that both *pao* and *ying* had been used to render Sanskrit *saṃbhogakāya*, but he "either ignored or was ignorant of the fact that *ying* also was employed to translate the term *nirmāṇakāya*" (Seah 1975:340).

82. This essay constitutes fascicle 114 of the *Wei-shu* and is reproduced in fascicle 2 of the *Kuang hung-ming chi* (compiled by Tao-hsüan in 664; T. 2103). There is a rather unsatisfactory translation of the Buddhist section of the treatise in Ware 1933 and an English translation based on Tsukamoto's Japanese translation in Hurvitz 1956. I have used the Chinese text of the *Wei-shu* reproduced in Hurvitz 1956.

83. The *Kuang hung-ming chi* omits 法身.

84. Text in Hurvitz 1956:41–42; trans. Hurvitz, with some changes.

85. T.1666: 32.575–83 (**Śraddhotpāda-śāstra*). Major Chinese commentaries include those by Ching-ying Hui-yüan (523–592), T.1843; Wŏnhyo, T.1844; and Fa-tsang, T.1846. Western-language studies on the origins of this text include Demiéville 1973a; Liebenthal 1958; Lai 1980; and Grosnick 1983, 1989. (Ingenious as they are, I consider Grosnick's arguments for the Indian authorship of the *Awakening of Faith* to be unnecessarily convoluted and circular. The Indian Buddhist scholastic corpus is sufficiently vast to allow one to find analogues to virtually any Chinese attempt at scholastic systematization. But why assume that the *t'i-hsiang-yung* distinction found in the *Awakening of Faith* had been adapted from prior materials in the first place? Grosnick never justifies this larger methodological assumption.) I have consulted the second "redaction" by Śikṣānanda (T.1667; completed in 700) in my translation below as well as the Japanese translation in Ui 1936 and the English translation in Hakeda 1967.

86. T.1666: 32.578c26–579a7.

87. T.1666: 32.579b14–c3.

88. T.1666: 32.579c11–19; cf. Hakeda 1967:63–72; Suzuki 1930:335–338; and Ui 1936:46–55.

89. P.2690, P.2287, S.2074, T.2818: 85; see the edition, translation, and study in Pachow 1979.

90. T.2818: 85.1185b21–22.

91. T.2818: 85.1186a21–b2.

92. T.945: 19.106b12–19; cf. the Japanese translation in Araki 1986:5–6 and the somewhat liberal English translation in Luk 1966:1. The full title of this text is the *Ta fo-ting ju-lai mi-yin hsiu-cheng liao-i chu-p'u-sa wan-hsing shou-leng-yen ching* 大佛頂如來密因修證了議諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經. Although tradition ascribes the translation to Pāramiti 般剌蜜帝 and others, it is now recognized to be a Chinese apocryphon. The first Chinese catalogue in which the sūtra appears is the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* of 730 (T.2152: 55.571c), and it is known to have been brought to Japan by the mid-eighth century (Demiéville 1952:43–45; Tsuchida 1986:14–15). An examination of internal evidence corroborates a proposed dating to the early T'ang.

Despite occasional doubts as to its authenticity, the *Shou-leng-yen ching* became one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in China and was particularly influential within the Ch'an tradition. Demiéville has a short but excellent discussion of this scripture in his *Le concile de Lhasa* (1952:43–52 n. 3), and the first four fascicles have recently been translated into Japanese by Araki (1986); see also the less reliable study by Tsuchida (1986).

93. On the cult of the *arhat*s in China, see esp. Visser 1923 and Fong 1958. Fong discusses an Indian tradition according to which four of the major *arhat*s (Mahākāśyapa, Kuṇḍopadhānīya, Piṇḍola, and Rāhula) were instructed by the Buddha to postpone their nirvāṇa and remain in the world until the advent of the next buddha (Fong 1958:25–26, 31–35). This tradition, unknown in Pāli texts, is nevertheless recorded in two Chinese *āgama* collections: the translation of the *Ekottaraāgama* by Gautama Saṃghadeva (T.125: 2.789a), and the Eastern Chin translation of the *Śāriputraparipṛcchā* (T.1465: 24.902a). It is also found in the *Mi-le hsia-sheng ching* 彌勒下生經 (T.453: 14.422b), purportedly translated by Dharmarakṣa, although the original text was lost by the eighth century, and the current work appears to have been lifted directly from the *Ekottaraāgama* mentioned above (Fong 1958:31–32). Fong dates this legend to the first or second century A.D. The legend of the four great *arhat*s eventually gave way to the more "Mahāyānist" tradition of sixteen *arhat*s who are full-fledged protectors of the law. The single most important source for the latter tradition is the *Ta a-lo-han nan-t'i-mi-to-lo so-shuo fa-chu chi* 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記, translated by Hsüan-tsang in 654 (T.2030); on this work see esp. Lévi and Chavannes 1916.

94. Zürcher has already undertaken a number of studies concerning the Six Dynasties fusion of Indian Buddhist and native Chinese ideals; see esp. Zürcher 1972, 1980, 1981, and 1982b. I will attempt no more than the briefest overview of this period, focusing on the cosmology of sympathetic resonance.

95. Recorded in the *Kao-seng chuan*, T.2059: 50.349b2–6; trans. Zürcher 1972: 1.122, with some changes. The quote at the end of the passage is from the *Analects* 17:19. For a full discussion see Zürcher 1972:1.120–130.

96. *Ch'u san-tsang chi-chi*, T.2145: 55.55b22–25, 56a2–9; trans. Zürcher 1972: 1.125–126, with some changes.

97. *Kuang hung-ming chi* 廣弘明集, T.2103: 52.196a18–21; trans. Zürcher 1972: 1.179, with some changes.

98. This text appears in the *Hung-ming chi* 弘明集 , T.2102: 52.9b–16a. It has been translated into Japanese in Makita ed. 1973–1975:2.81–143; a partial English translation can be found in Liebenthal 1952:378–394. See also Bush and Shih eds. 1985:337–338; T'ang Yung-t'ung 1955:422; and Zürcher 1972:1.218–219.

99. T.2102: 52.13a23–27; cf. Makita ed. 1973–1975:2.114–115. I cannot agree with Makita, who understands the "unity of the *tao* and virtue" as referring to the sage and the "duality of *tao* and virtue" as referring to the buddha. Nor can I make sense of the English rendition by Munakata, which suffers from unwarranted interpolations and an admittedly animistic understanding of the term "*shen*" 神 (Munakata 1983:118–119). The passage by Tsung Ping presents the buddha as possessing two aspects—a unified aspect (his virtue or power) from which perspective the buddha is one with the Way itself and a dualistic aspect (his spirit) through which the buddha principle becomes active and manifests in the world of change.

100. T.1775: 38.405a23.

101. *Chu wei-mo-chieh-ching*, T.1775: 38.334b15–27. This commentary, which also contains comments by Kumārajīva, Tao-sheng 道生 , and others, was composed between 406 and 414.

102. This is more of a paraphrase than a quote from the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*, T.475: 14.555a1–27.

103. See the *Fang-kuang ching* 放光經 (the Mokṣala translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*), T.221: 8.145a12.

104. T.1858: 45.158b18–26; cf. Tsukamoto ed. 1955:1.66; Chang Chung-yuan 1974:256–257; Liebenthal 1968:110–111; and the discussion in Alicia Matsunaga 1969:106–107.

105. This line could also be read, "There is no distinction between [*prajñā*] and that with which it comes into contact" 所以會而不差.

106. T.1858: 45.153b2–4, 153c11–14; cf. Tsukamoto ed. 1955:24; Robinson 1976:214, 216; and Liebenthal 1968:67, 72.

107. There is a growing body of literature on the centrality of image veneration in Buddhism and the Buddhist tendency to regard sacred images as sentient beings. See, for example, Delahaye 1983; Faure 1991:148–178; 1996:237–263; 1998; Franke 1988; Goepper 1979, 1997; Mus 1998; Sharf 2001a; Strickmann 1996:165–211; and the collection of essays in Davis ed. 1998.

108. For a comprehensive analysis of the structure of Chinese monastic ritual, see Stevenson 1987.

109. The *Scripture on the Production of Buddha Images*, translated toward the end of the Eastern Han dynasty or shortly thereafter, is one of the earliest-known translated scriptures in China, and it was widely disseminated in medieval times (Sharf 1996). See also the *Sūtra on the Merit Gained through Washing an Image of the Buddha* (*Yü-hsiang kung-te ching* 浴像功德經, T.697) and the *Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Merit Gained through the Production of Images* (*Ta-sheng tsao-hsiang kung-te ching* 大乘造像功德經, T.694).

110. See esp. chapter 12, T.412: 13.787b–789a, although references are found throughout the text.

111. The reconstructed Sanskrit title is **Pratyutpanna-buddhasaṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*. There are four extant Chinese versions found in volume 13 of the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon. These have been the subject of an extended discussion in Harrison 1990:209–272, and I summarize his findings here:

1. T.418, the *Pan-chou san-mei ching* in three fascicles, is attributed to Lokakṣema. Harrison has undertaken a detailed analysis of the two surviving recensions of this text and concludes that it was originally a work of Lokakṣema. One redaction, which survives in the Korean canon and was the basis for the Taishō text, can be considered closer to the "original," while the redaction preserved in the Sung, Yüan, and Ming canons has undergone modification by a later hand.
2. T.419, the *Pa-p'o p'u-sa ching* 拔陂菩薩經 in one fascicle, is an early translation—probably later Han—whose authorship is unknown. This text corresponds roughly with the first four sections (*p'in*) of T.418 and the first six chapters of the Tibetan text.
3. T.417, the *Pan-chou san-mei ching* in one fascicle, is also attributed to Lokakṣema. According to Harrison, this redaction is "undoubtedly an

anonymous abridgement of [the Sung, Yüan, and Ming redaction of T.418] into which a long versified passage has been interpolated" (1978: 41). The terminology of the text indicates that it was compiled around the time of Dharmarakṣa (ca. 300) or thereafter. This text was accorded a high place in the transmission of the sūtra throughout China and Japan.

4. T.416, the *Ta-fang-teng ta-chi-ching hsien-hu-fen* 大方等大集經賢護分 in five fascicles, was translated by Jñānagupta et al. in the years 594–595.

112. There is some ambiguity in the Chinese translations as to whether it is the buddha who manifests himself in front of the practitioner or the other way around (Harrison 1990:3–5 n. 1).

113. T.416: 13.874b9–21; cf. Lokakṣema's translation, T.418: 13.904a; and the translation of the corresponding Tibetan in Harrison 1990:23.

114. See T.416: 13.875c27–876a6; for the Tibetan see Harrison 1990:32–33. Although this text specifically mentions Amitāyus as the buddha with whom one comes "face-to-face," the text indicates that Amitāyus functions as a type, and thus other buddhas or groups of buddhas can be visualized in the same manner (Harrison 1978:43).

115. T.416: 13.877b1–8; for the Tibetan see Harrison 1990:42–43. The section following the symbol § appears only in the Chinese versions.

116. T.416: 13.877a9–15.

117. T.418: 13.905c15–17.

118. See, for example, chapter 14 of the Kumārajīva translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*An-lo hsing p'in* 安樂行品): "This scripture is blessed by the supernatural power of all buddhas, past, present, and future" (T.262: 9.38c18–19).

119. The principle of *kan-ying* is used to explain the mechanism of invocation in Taoism as well; see Robinet 1979:81–82.

120. See the passage from Kūkai's *Sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成佛 cited below. The contemporary Shingon scholar Toganoo Shōun repeats the identification; he comments that *kaji*, which is explained in Chinese commentaries as *chia-p'i* 加被 or the power bestowed by buddha, and *shou-ch'ih* 受持 or the recipient's ability to receive and maintain such power, is the same as the interaction between stimulus and response (*kan-ying tao-chiao* 感應道交) accomplished through the power of contemplation (*kuan-nien* 觀念; Toganoo 1982b:151).

121. I do not want to argue that the Chinese failed to distinguish between subjective perception (which is liable to error) and "objective facts." Clearly, as biological creatures, human beings are provided with ample occasion to experience epistemic error—the disjunction between what we think is the case and what later proves to be the case. Indeed, major Chinese philosophical and political theories such as the "rectification of names" (*cheng ming* 正名, in which the designated term for an entity was brought into accord with its "true nature") were predicated upon *some* version of just this dichotomy. I only want to suggest that the Chinese distinction is not coterminous with the contemporary Cartesian one.

Wallace Matson has argued that while the classical Greek philosophers did distinguish between the soul and the body, the Cartesian understanding of "mind," which incorporates "raw sensory input," would be subsumed under the Greek notion of "body" (Matson 1966). This argument is an interesting illustration of

the fact that, even in the West, the seemingly self-evident distinction we draw between mind and matter is of relatively recent provenance.

122. The structure of Hansen's provocative argument is as follows: (1) after introducing the linguistic distinction between mass nouns and count nouns, he argues that (2) the Platonic distinction between universals and particulars, which is the foundation for classical Western metaphysics, is predicated on an analysis of things that belong to the class of count nouns. (3) Thinking metaphysically with count nouns leads to different metaphysical intuitions than thinking in terms of mass nouns. (4) An analysis of ancient Chinese syntax reveals that the language only possessed mass nouns and was thus incapable of generating the universal-particular distinction. See chapters 1 and 2 in Hansen 1983. Hansen's argument has been critiqued by a number of scholars, most recently Harbsmeier, who argues that there was, in fact, a clear distinction between the syntactic treatment of count nouns, mass nouns, and generic nouns in Classical Chinese, and that even if one did philosophize on the basis of mass nouns alone, it need not give rise to a mereological metaphysic (Harbsmeier 1998:311–321).

123. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of "affect" includes the following: "the way in which one is affected or disposed; mental state, mood, feeling … to do something to … to be drawn to, have affection or liking for … act on, influence … to lay hold of, impress, or act upon (in mind or feelings); to influence, move, touch … to make a material impression on … have an effect on" (1.151–152).

124. This work is partially extant in *HTC* 74.1a–103d. Of the original ten fascicles, the first, third, and fourth are now lost. Chün-cheng, whose life spanned the end of the Sui and the early T'ang, was a San-lun master whose thought conformed closely to that of Chi-tsang; see Ono 1932–1936:7.307d–308a.

125. T.1853: 45.66a6–67a2.

126. T.1853: 45.66a7–14.

127. T.1853: 45.66a20.

128. T.1853: 45.66a18–19.

129. *HTC* 74.32b8–13.

130. *HTC* 74.34b7–8.

131. *HTC* 74.34d11–18.

132. *HTC* 74.35c5–6.

133. See in particular his twenty-fascicle commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Miao-fa lien-hua-ching hsüan-i* (T.1716).

134. The "wonders" are divided into three groups of ten, under the general headings "contemplating mind" (*kuan-hsin* 觀心), "fundamental teachings" (*pen-men* 本門, referring to the teachings in the last half of the *Lotus Sūtra*), and "historical traces" (*chi-men* 迹門, referring to the teachings of the first half of the *Lotus Sūtra*). The wonder of stimulus-response falls under the last category. For a complete list of the thirty wonders, see Swanson 1989:136–147; see also the comments on stimulus-response in the *Fa-hua wen-chü chi* 法華文句記 by Chan-jan (711–782), T.1719: 34.154c–155a.

135. The preface to the *Miao-fa lien-hua-ching wen-chü* 妙法蓮華經文句 states that although Kuan-ting was twenty-seven when he first heard the lectures, it was not until his sixty-ninth year that he finished editing the *Wen-chü*; see T.1718: 34.1a; and Swanson 1989:270 n. 5.

136. The four phases are (1) hidden impetus and hidden response 冥機冥應, (2) hidden impetus and manifest response 冥機顯應, (3) manifest impetus and manifest response 顯機顯應, and (4) manifest impetus and hidden response 顯機冥應 (T.1716: 33.748b10–24; see Swanson 1989:319 n. 330).

137. See the full description in T.1716: 33.748b28–c9.

138. This refers to the twenty-five realms of existence including stages of *samādhi*. For a full elaboration see T.1929: 46.755c29–758b27; for an English rendering see Hurvitz 1980:339–342.

139. T.1716: 33.697c15–19; cf. Swanson 1989:207–208.

140. T.1716: 33.746c12–749c25.

141. T.1716: 33.749c5–9.

142. See, for example, the *Ta-ming san-tsang fa-shu* 大明三藏法數, a Ming work compiled by I-ju 一如 in 1419: "Stimulus [refers to the activity of] sentient beings, while response [is the activity of] the Buddha. Sentient beings are able to stimulate the Buddha by means of perfect impetus, and Buddhas are able to respond to them with the marvel of response. It is like the one moon reflecting on water everywhere, without the water rising from below, or the moon falling from above" (MH 4.1132).

143. Kūkai 1910:1.516; cf. Nasu 1980:150–154; and Hakeda 1972:232.

144. 6.1; trans. Morrell 1985:183, with minor changes.

145. T.1191: 46.11b14–18; cf. Donner and Stevenson 1993:224–225.

146. T.1941: 46.949c13–15; cf. Stevenson 1987:472.

147. T.1911: 46.92a5–9; trans. Stevenson 1987:410, with changes.

148. T.1911: 46.112a2–10.

149. *Chi* originally referred to the spring-trigger mechanism on a cross-bow, from which can be traced a host of derived meanings, including "mechanism," "trigger," "spring," "pivotal moment or event," "fundamental power," "change," "opportunity," "potentiality," and so on (MH 6.555).

150 See the discussion in Fukushima 1979:40–41.

151. T.1715: 33.747b3–11.

152. See T.475: 14.544b: "It is as if an elder has only one son; when the son becomes ill, the parents also become ill. If the child recovers from that illness, the parents also recover. In the same way, bodhisattvas love all beings as if they were their own children. When the beings are ill, the bodhisattvas are also ill, and when the beings recover, the bodhisattvas also recover."

153. See T.375: 12.724a24–27: "It is like a man with seven children, one of whom falls ill. Though the father's and mother's feelings toward the children are not unequal, they are nevertheless especially partial to their sick child. Great king, the Tathāgata is like this. Though his feelings toward living beings are not unequal, he is nevertheless especially partial toward sinners" (trans. Donner and Stevenson 1993:148 n. 41).

154. These are the fifth and fourth of five practices given in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*; see Donner and Stevenson 1993:148 n. 43.

155. According to Donner and Stevenson, this passage is not found in any extant *Ch'an ching* (1993:148 n. 44).

156. T.1911: 46.4c13–22; cf. Donner and Stevenson 1993:147–149. The *Mo-ho chih-kuan* goes on to define the meaning of receptivity and response in terms of the four *siddhānta* (*ssu hsi-t'an* 四悉檀; see below).

157. MZ 2.1796b–1797c.

158. T.1718: 34.2a27–29.

159. On the four *siddhānta* see MZ 2.1786c–1788a; and Swanson 1989:23–30.

160. T.1718: 34.4c17.

161. MZ 1.173b–174a; Nakamura 1981:72d–73a.

162. The relevant passage in the *Lotus Sūtra* runs as follows: "The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, for one great cause alone appear in the world. Śāriputra, what do I mean by 'The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, for one great cause alone appear in the world'? The Buddhas, the World-Honored Ones, appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to hear of the Buddha's knowledge and insight and thus enable them to gain purity. They appear in the world because they wish to demonstrate the Buddha's knowledge and insight to the beings. They appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to understand. They appear in the world because they wish to cause the beings to enter into the path of the Buddha's knowledge and insight. Śāriputra, this is the one great cause for which the Buddhas appear in the world" (T.262: 9.7a21–28; trans. Hurvitz 1976:30).

163. T.1191: 46.9b22–29; cf. Donner and Stevenson 1993:200–201.

164. T.1911: 46.110b3–10.

165. T.1911: 46.5a.

166. *Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, Kamata 1971:296; on this text see Gregory 1991:15 n. 28.

Introduction to the Translation

1. The earliest known Chinese "genre scheme" is credited to Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187–226), the poet and critic who ruled as Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei dynasty (r. 220–226). His *Lun wen* 論文 (Essay on Literature), which survives in the *Wen hsüan* 文選, mentions *lun* as one of eight different modes of literature. According to Ts'ao P'i, *lun*, along with *shu* 書 (letters), should "accord with reason" 宜理 (see Hightower 1965b:143 n. 2, which translates "letters and essays should be logical"). Virtually all later Chinese literary critics included *lun* in their discussions of distinguished writing. Perhaps the most influential early description of the defining characteristics of *lun* is that found in the preface to the *Wen hsüan* by Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501–531): "Disquisition [*lun*] is subtle in making logical distinctions" 論則析理精微 (trans. Hightower 1965b:152).

2. On parallel prose see the overviews in Harbsmeier 1998:105–107; Hightower 1965a:108–118; and Nienhauser ed. 1986:656–660.

3. On Chinese modes of argumentation and rationality, and the Chinese ambivalence toward certain forms of disputation (*pien* 辯), see the extended discussion in Harbsmeier 1998:143–150, 261–277, 346–353. Harbsmeier notes, for example, that "the Chinese have often tended to deem explicitness unnecessary where we would feel it was intellectually important or even crucial, especially in philosophical contexts" (p. 145). On Chinese analogical reasoning see also Reding 1986.

4. The latter Japanese edition may have been based on the Ōbaku edition of 1681, which was itself a reproduction of the Wan-li canon. Thus, as one would expect, the two texts of the *Treasure Store Treatise* used by the Taishō editors are

virtually identical: the Taishō notes a total of eight variants, most of which are either alternate orthographic forms or common and readily identifiable scribal errors.

5. There are also words that I occasionally leave untranslated, including the pronominal *ch'i* 其 (in cases where there is no obvious referent) and the particle *fu* 夫 (which I treat as introducing a new topic, indicated by a paragraph break). Such particles can function, in part, to mark intonation and euphony, and as such their semantic and syntactic function is sometimes akin to that of modern punctuation marks; see the discussion in Harbsmeier 1998:175–184.

6. T.2184: 55.1177c3.

7. T.2016: 48.951c22.

3. Chapter One: The Broad Illumination of Emptiness and Being

1. Seidel 1983:340. On the significance of *pao*, see also Benn 1977:197–203; Kaltenmark 1960:568–570; Robinet 1979:37–40; and Seidel 1981:232–247.

2. In Early Middle Chinese pronunciation, *paw'* (Pulleyblank 1991:30).

3. See Seidel 1983:338–340 for the lore surrounding the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經 (Scripture of the Great Peace), which was typical in this regard. It was precisely because such texts, which circulated among the initiated masses, were touted as tokens of divinely sanctioned imperial power that they were so often proscribed by the Chinese court. See also Kaltenmark 1960 and Robinet 1979:29–44.

4. A detailed account of the nature and significance of these thirteen treasures can be found in Schafer 1965; see also Benn 1977:196–200.

5. T.1857: 45.145b28. The term "*pao-yin*" is discussed below.

6. *Chiu-ching i-sheng pao-hsing lun* 究竟一乘寶性論 (*Ratnagotravibhāga-mahāyānottaratantra-śāstra*), T.1611: 31.839a23.

7. T.1666: 32.575c23, 576a6 and passim.

8. *HTC* 14.124c11–13.

9. See Kaltenmark 1960:576–580; and Bell 1988:377.

10. See, for example, the titles to the sūtras *Wen-shu-shih-li hsien pao-tsang ching* 文殊師利現寶藏經 (Sk. **Ratnakāranda[kavyūha]-sūtra*; T.461), translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in 270, and *Tsa pao-tsang ching* 雜寶藏經 (T.203), translated by Chi-chia-yeh 吉迦夜 (Kiṃkārya?) and T'an-yao 曇曜 in 472.

11. See the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T.2076: 51.440c24 and passim; and the *Tsung-ching lu*, T.2016: 48.424c9, 604a3. In the latter text *pao-tsang* is equated with the *tsung-ching* 宗鏡—the essential mirror—which is the one mind, pure and radiant. The same text also states: "First one eradicates ignorance and sees the buddha-nature, opens the treasure store and manifests true thusness" 初破無明見佛性、開寶藏顯眞如 (T.2016: 48.633a11).

12. Silvio Vita suggests an emendation to preserve the symmetry of this opening passage, changing "That which has no form, the mother of [all] form" 無色色之母 to "That which has no shape, the mother of all shapes" 無形形之母 (Vita 1985:5 n. 7). The *Treasure Store Treatise*, however, frequently breaks formal symmetry in just this way (see, for example, the opening to chapter 2, 145c13–16). Furthermore, this line is quoted in Yen Shou's *Tsung-ching lu* without change

(T.2016: 48.458b2–4). The pairing of "name" (*ming* 名) and "form" (*se* 色) recalls the Sanskrit *nāma-rūpa*, which plays a fundamental role in Buddhist scholasticism.

13. For an extended discussion of the syntax of the first chapter of the *Tao-te ching*, see Boodberg 1979:460–480.

14. See esp. Bokenkamp 1990, 1997; Verellen 1992; and Zürcher 1980.

15. Tsung-mi quotes this sentence and the next in his *Yüan-chüeh-ching lüeh-ch'ao* (*HTC* 15.91b14–15), but where the current text reads "formless" 無形, Tsung-mi has "perfect form" 圓形.

16. See Karlgren 1964, number 728a; and MH 10.657.

17. Yang Chiung 楊炯 (650–ca. 694), *Hun-t'ien fu* 渾天賦; Schafer 1977:292 n. 9.

18. Schafer 1977:55–56; Schafer cites Needham, Siven, Nakayama, Porkert, and others as contributing to the currency of the term "correspondences" (Schafer 1977:292 n. 11).

19. Honda 1978:2.277; trans. Wilhelm 1967:304.

20. T.1858: 45.158b5. See also the discussion of *hsiang* in the second essay of the *Chao lun*, T.1858: 45.152a10–12.

21. See, for example, 144a10: "the thousand facets of the images in the mirror" 鏡象千端.

22. MH 1.977b; Maspero 1981:465. Among the many useful discussions of the meanings of *ch'i* itself, see Allan 1997:87–92; Bokenkamp 1997:15–20; and Feuchtwang 1974:48–56.

23. Maspero 1981:465–470; see also Engelhardt 1989.

24. *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 56.8b, 12a; translation follows Maspero (1981:465–466) with minor changes. The *Yüan-ch'i lun* is no longer extant as an independent work but survives in fascicle 56 of the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*. Maspero dates it to the late eighth or ninth century (Maspero 1981:466 n. 27).

25. *HY*.833, f.571: 1a; trans. Kohn 1987a:119, with changes. This text is also found in the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 33.12a–14b. The traditional dates for Sun Ssu-miao are unreliable, as is the authenticity of the many texts attributed to him. For a critical study of his biography, see Sivin 1968:81–144 and Engelhardt 1989:266–267.

26. T.1886: 45.708b13–28 (see also 708a27); see the translation and discussion of the passage in Gregory 1995:95–102.

27. T.1858: 45.161b19–21.

28. Mugitani 1985:xiii–12; and MH 3.408. See also the comments in Girardot 1983:58.

29. Honda 1978:1.13–14; Wilhelm 1967:257–258.

30. In both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Chinese mortuary rituals of the medieval period, the *ling* refers to the "soul" that remains near the corpse following death and later comes to settle in the ancestral tablet. Descriptions of Sung funerals for Ch'an abbots mention the *ling-tso* 靈座, or "spirit seat," which is set out near the coffin along with possessions belonging to the deceased abbot. Both the seat and possessions are intended for the use of the *ling* of the deceased, which lingers near the corpse until burial or cremation. See, for example, the "passing of a venerable elder" (*tsun-su ch'ien-hua* 尊宿遷化) section of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* 禪苑清規, Kagamishima et al. 1972:259–260; and the discussion in Foulk and Sharf 1993–1994:191–194.

31. Emend *ko* 各 to *ming* 名 (see the editions in the *Shukusatsu zōkyō* 32.1.1a5; *HTC* 96.23c9; and the *Ta-hui p'u-chüeh ch'an-shih p'u-shuo* 大慧普覺禪師普說, which quotes the opening passage of the *Treasure Store Treatise* in full (*Manji zōkyō* 卍字藏經 1.31.5.414c3).

32. Ta-hui 大慧 (1089–1163) quotes the opening passage of the *Treasure Store Treatise* (beginning with "Emptiness that can be deemed empty" and ending here) in his *Ta-hui p'u-chüeh ch'an-shih p'u-shuo* (*Manji zōkyō* 1.31.5.414b19–c7). Ta-hui does not mention the source but simply introduces the quotation with the phrase "as was said by an old worthy" 古德所謂. It would seem, however, that Ta-hui was familiar with the source of the quotation, as he follows the quote with the comment "the ancients called this 'the broad illumination of emptiness and being,'" which is precisely the title of this chapter of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. And later on in his *P'u-shuo*, Ta-hui again quotes a line from this section of the *Treasure Store Treatise*, but this time he attributes it to "Dharma Master Chao" 肇法師 (1.31.5.466c5; also found in T.1998: 47.888b; see Levering 1978:152–154).

33. My translation borrows from Lau 1963:82.

34. De Bary et al. 1960:192; cf. Legge 1967:1.364, 366.

35. In her study of Chou ideology, Sarah Allan comments:

> [Virtue] is essentially a response to the demands of the larger community or state, even when these demands conflict with the interests of one's family or kinship group. Heredity is the protection of family or kinship interests. This opposition is inherent in any human society that differentiates one nuclear family or kinship group from another, but it increases in importance with the complexity of the political and social organization of the community. In the settled agricultural community of traditional China, with its complex system of kinship organizations existing alongside a political organization with an hereditary king and a non-hereditary officialdom, this opposition assumed unusual importance. (1981:142)

See also the discussions in Needham 1956:107–115 and Girardot 1983.

36. See, for example, the *Miao-sheng-ting ching* 妙勝定經, a Chinese apocryphon discovered at Tun-huang that declares all merit-producing activities, including the recitation, study, and exposition of scriptures, and the construction of temples, to be counterproductive in the *mo-fa*. The text advocates instead the practice of *dhyāna* (Sekiguchi 1969b:379–402; see also the discussion in Stevenson 1987:19–22). On the sinitic origins and meanings of *mo-shih* and *mo-fa*, see Hubbard 1996 and Nattier 1991:90–118.

37. See the *Ch'ung yu lun* 崇有論 by P'ei Wei 裴頠 (267–300), quoted in his biography in the *Chin-shu* 35.5b ff. (Zürcher 1972:2.349 n. 25).

38. Zürcher 1972:1.87; see also Robinet 1977:73–74.

39. See MH 2.827; the classical source for this mode of philosophizing is the *Cheng-ming* 正名 chapter of the *Hsün-tzu*; see Eno 1990:145–147 for a detailed analysis of the logic of "rectifying names."

40. Bokenkamp, for example, describes the importance of five-phase thought in the soteriology of the Ling-pao school of Taoism (1983:451–454).

41. Trans. Lau 1963:68, with some changes.

42. T.2076: 51.457a19–20.

43. T.1858: 45.153a8.

44. Wu Chi-yu 1960:99, 108; Kamata 1965:388; 1968:128. On *tao-hsing* see Chapter 1 of this study.

45. *HY*.1033, f.704. This text bears a number of striking terminological, stylistic, and conceptual similarities with the *Treasure Store Treatise* (Kamata 1963b). (Although the *San-lun* 三論, or "three treatises," of the title might appear, at first glance, to refer to the Buddhist school of that name, it actually refers to the three chapters that compose the text: *Tao-tsung chang* 道宗章, *Hsü-wang chang* 虛妄章, and *Chen-yüan chang* 眞源章.) In both content and style, the *San-lun yüan-chih* bears an unmistakable resemblance to the scriptures that, according to Sunayama, are products of Twofold Mystery Taoism (see Chapter 1). Moreover, the *San-lun yüan-chih* directly quotes from two of the so-called Twofold Mystery texts: the *Pen-chi ching* and the *Hai-k'ung ching* (Kamata 1963b:260). Although I question the historical veracity of Sunayama's reconstruction of a "Twofold Mystery sect," it is clear that the *San-lun yüan-chih* is a product of the gentry Taoism that flourished under imperial patronage in the seventh and eighth centuries and that gave rise to many of the works classified under the Twofold Mystery rubric.

46. T.475: 14.544b13–14.

47. The phrase 外受五欲 is ambiguous, as the term *shou* 受 is polyvalent in Buddhist Chinese. It is found as a technical translation for Sanskrit *vedanā* (to feel, to react to) and Sanskrit *upādāna* (to grasp).

48. Jan 1980:201 (cf. Yates 1997:175) and Seidel 1969:64 n. 5, respectively.

49. S.2295: 4–5; see Seidel 1969:61. This text probably dates to the Western Han.

50. See also chapter 1 of the *Lieh-tzu*, Kobayashi 1967:19; and below 146a13.

51. 19/6/92–93; trans. Watson 1968:90.

52. See Robinet 1979:94–129; and Kohn 1989b:217–219 n. 53.

53. *HY*.641, f.342:5b; cf. Kohn 1989b:217.

54. Among the many discussions of the term "*li*" in Chinese thought, see Wing-tsit Chan 1964; Demiéville 1973c:250–257; Graham 1958:8–22; Harbsmeier 1998: 238–240; Hurvitz 1968:247–248; Roth 1973:94–107; and Zürcher 1972:1.125–126.

55. Gimello 1976:478. On Chih Tun's use of *li*, see esp. Hurvitz 1968 and Roth 1973:94–107.

56. Legge 1961:5.292–293. For a more detailed discussion of *wang-liang*, see Kiang 1975:72–73, 168–216; Harper 1985:479 n. 56, 481–482; and MH 12.692.

57. *Kuo yü* 國語 (SSPY ed.), "Lu yü" 魯語: 5.7a.

58. Emend 待 to 得.

59. 1/1/8; Watson 1968:30.

60. 5/2/52–53; trans. Watson 1968:43.

61. For a comparison of Taoist and Buddhist uses of mirror metaphors, see my commentary to section 144b21 below as well as Demiéville 1973b.

62. See MH 4.1026; Oda 1983:147b; and the extended discussion in Chapter 2 of this study.

63. "Therefore, the [*Book of*] *Changes* has the Great Ultimate. This gives rise to the two archetypes; the two archetypes give rise to the four schemata, and the four schemata give rise to the eight trigrams" 是故易有大極、是生兩儀、兩儀生四象、四象生八卦 (*Hsi-tz'u chuan* 繫辭傳, Honda 1978:2.296). See also the translation and commentary in Honda 1978:2.296–297; and Wilhelm 1967:318.

64. The term "*t'ai-wei*" is also used to refer to a "curved wall manned by high stellar officials, protectors of the royal person, composed of stars mostly in our constellation of Virgo" (Schafer 1977:208). See also Benn 1977:209–210.

65. For an overview of the controversy surrounding the interpretation of these two terms, see Welbon 1968:208–220.

66. See esp. T.1857: 45.148a4–159a8.

67. A full exposition is also found in the *Ta-sheng erh-shih-erh wen* by T'an-k'uang, a text written at roughly the same time as the *Treasure Store Treatise*, although it originated in a very different geographical and cultural milieu. The fifth of the twenty-two questions asks whether the distinction between the two nirvāṇas is real or conventional. After a full elucidation of nirvāṇa with and without residue, which leads to an enumeration of "four nirvāṇas," T'an-k'uang explains that while all four are based on true suchness 眞如, there is no essential distinction between them (Pachow 1979:88).

68. T.2015: 48.405a21–23; see the edition and Japanese translation in Kamata 1971:132 and the English translation in Broughton 1975:196. Whereas the received text of the *Treasure Store Treatise* reads "the knowing that is true knowing" 眞知之知, Tsung-mi has "the knowing of this knowing" 其知之知.

69. MZ 2.1454–1455; Nakamura 1981:482.

70. MZ 2.1613–1614; Nakamura 1981:482.

71. T.2003: 48.180c21–181c16. Note that where the *Treasure Store Treatise* reads 過此二者謂之眞, the *Pi-yen lu* reads 過此二者是爲眞過.

72. T.2003: 48.181a3–8; cf. the translations in Asahina 1937:2.119; and Cleary and Cleary 1977:2.313. Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh is said to have spent only a single day studying with the Sixth Patriarch at Ts'ao-ch'i, yet he received Hui-neng's sanction. His biography is found in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T.2076: 51.241a27–b15.

73. T.945: 19.124b2–3.

74. *Tao-te ching* 20; trans. Lau 1963:77.

75. *Tao-te ching* 58; trans. Lau 1963:119.

76. Trans. Lau 1963:96. For a discussion of the term "*p'o*" as it occurs in the *Tao-te ching*, see Lau 1963:36–37.

77. It is used for Sanskrit *apeksa*, *apeksana*, and *apeksita*, in the T'ang translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* (Nakamura 1981:869).

78. T.475: 14.541b25–26.

79. The quotation is not exact; see *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* T.475: 14.545a3–6. The same passage is quoted at the close of *Treasure Store Treatise* chapter 2, 147c24–26.

80. Iriya 1984:24; cf. the translation in Lievens 1987:87.

81. 17.2a; trans. Ware 1966:281.

82. T.1911: 46.116a.

83. *Fang-teng san-mei hsing-fa* 方等三昧行法, T.1940: 46.945a11.

84. See, for example, *Pao-p'u-tzu* 15.8b–9b; trans. Ware 1966:255–257.

85. *HY*.431, f.196; also contained in the *Ch'üan t'ang wen* 924.16a–b. See Fukunaga 1973:59–65; and the brief comments in Benn 1977:106–109; Kroll 1978:18; and Schafer 1978–1979. On the cosmology of Chinese mirrors, see also Cahill 1986; Kaltenmark 1974; and Loewe 1979:60–85.

86. The outer rim of the mirror is circular and the inner rim square, symbol-

izing heaven and earth. The configuration of lines within the square depicts *yin* and *yang*; also manifest on the mirror are the sun, moon, stars, planets, five elements, and so on (*HY*.431, f.196: 1a–b).

87. *HY*.431, f.196: 1a3–9. My translation of this problematic passage follows, in part, the analysis in Fukunaga 1973:61–63 and the translation in Benn 1977: 107. Fukunaga notes that this short work is replete with references to a host of Taoist classics, including the *Pao-p'u-tzu*, *Lieh-tzu*, *Huai-nan-tzu*, *Tao-te ching*, and *Chuang-tzu*. He traces the expression "*ching pien*" 精變, the immediate concern here, to the *Ta chuan* commentary to the *I ching* (see Honda 1978:2.290–291). Both Fukunaga and Benn interpret *ching* in the sense of "essence," yet I believe the evidence in the present context warrants reading *ching* as referring to an animate force or active spiritual agent inhering in things.

88. T.2023: 48.1069b13.

89. T.2582: 82.27b10; see also Dōgen's *Hōkyōki*, Kodera 1980:231.

90. T.2024: 48.1109a21.

91. T.2016: 48.439c27–28.

92. This text is preserved in fascicles 40–41 of the *Ch'ung-k'o ku-tsun-su yü-lu* 重刻古尊宿語録, compiled in 1267; *HTC* 118.683a17.

93. For a discussion of the *hun* and *p'o* souls, see esp. Loewe 1979:9–10; Maspero 1981:266–267 and passim; Needham 1974:85–93; and Schafer 1977:176–180.

94. See, for example, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, 1.162.8; and the *Tsung-ching lu*, T.2016: 48.694c4–5. In the latter text the relationship of the activity of the bird to the sky is likened to the relationship between the *activity* of the storehouse-consciousness (*tsang-shih* 藏識, Sk. *ālayavijñāna*) and the storehouse-consciousness itself.

95. The story appears in *Chuang-tzu* 29/12/18–20; see Fukunaga 1978b: 2.179–180; and Watson 1968:128–129. See also the *Chao lun*, T.1858: 45.153a22; Tsukamoto ed. 1955:1.23.

96. On the identity of *wang-hsiang* 罔象 and *hsiang-wang* 象罔, see Demiéville 1957:229.

97. See Suzuki 1934:63, 362.

98. The locus classicus for the "pervasion of the spirit" in Taoist literature is *Chuang-tzu* 29/12/14: "knowledge is pervaded by spirit" 知通於神. For examples in the T'ang, see the *T'ien-yin-tzu* 天隱子 (*HY*.1020, f.672; Kohn 1987b:10 n. 38), and section 19, now lost, of the *Tao-chiao i-shu*, which was titled "The Six Pervasions" (*liu-t'ung* 六通).

99. Trans. Lin 1977:147. This anecdote also appears in *Chuang-tzu* 39/14/61–62; cf. Watson 1968:163.

100. On the use of the term in Taoist and Ch'an contexts, see esp. App 1995b:83 n. 63; and Fukunaga 1969.

101. In the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* see T.475: 14.555c19–21, 557a14; in the *Lotus* see T.262: 9.16b23, 19b19, and 22c20.

102. *Chuang-tzu* 89/32/20; see also 93/33/56.

103. Notable is the following passage from chapter 5 of the *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*:

> Grand Unity gives forth two principles [heaven and earth];
> [And] these two principles give rise to *yin* and *yang*.
> The *yin* and *yang* are transformed further,
> One going up and the other down.

> [At first] united and yet complete in a state of chaos;
> [Constantly] separating and then returning to unity.
> Uniting and then returning to separation.
> This is called Heaven's Constancy. . . .
> All the Ten Thousand Things are that which were created from the Grand Unity;
> And are transformed by *yin* and *yang*. (Girardot 1983:55)

See also *Hsün-tzu* 71/19/21 and 19/25–27.

104. See Hawkes 1985:95–99. Hawkes mentions that the reference to *t'ai-i* may be an interpolation by Liu An, editor of the *Huai-nan-tzu*.

105. See Hawkes 1985:61; Kohn 1989a:134–137; and Schafer 1977:45 and passim. For the term "*tzu-wei*," see the commentary to 145b25 below. The deity T'ai-i also appears under the name T'ai-i Chün 太一君 in the *Huang-t'ing ching* (*nei* 19:2 註; *nei* 23:3 註; and *wai* 3:68 註).

106. Cammann 1961:60–76; see also Cammann 1962 and Xiong 1996:283.

107. See Kalinowski 1985; Orzech 1989:111; Robinet 1979:205–211; 1989b: 179; and Xiong 1996:273–279.

108. See, for example, the *Hung-ming chi*, T.2102: 52.76c15; Makita ed. 1973–1975:3.624. The *PWYF* (2.1244a) cites a line from a poem by Tu Fu 杜甫 (712–770) that seems to resonate with the *Treasure Store Treatise*: "Peacefully enveloping the eight seas, the lord bathes heaven and earth" 安得覆八溟、爲君洗乾坤.

109. Read *tz'u* 朿, and not *shu* 束.

110. T.1858: 45.152c16–17; cf. Robinson 1976:226.

111. *HY*.641, f.342: 2b; trans. Kohn 1989b:207.

112. T.2831: 85.1269c23–1270a2.

113. *Chuang-tzu* 16/6/24 and 17/6/57; trans. Watson 1968:80, 85. *Hsing-tsai* also occurs in the first chapter (*T'ien-shui* 天瑞) of the *Lieh-tzu* (Kobayashi 1967: 20–21).

114. General treatments of medieval Taoist alchemy can be found in Maspero 1981:219–346; Needham and Lu 1983:20–128; Sivin 1968; and Strickmann 1979.

115. T.1858: 45.152c2–7.

116. The final section of this paragraph ("Guard the truth and embrace the One. Then you will not be defiled by external things. The Great Unity—clear and void—how could it be lost?") is quoted by Tsung-mi in his *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao*, *HTC* 14.209a13–14.

117. Details concerning the composition of the essay are found in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, T.2061: 50.732a–b.

118. T.1880: 45.665b27–29; trans. Garma C. C. Chang 1971:228–229; cf. translations by Bodde in Fung 1953:339–359; and Wing-tsit Chan 1963:409–414.

119. See also the note to the term "True One" (*chen-i* 眞一) in the commentary to section 143c7 above.

120. On "the One" see esp. Kohn 1989a; Buswell 1989:138–140; Robinet 1977: 149–203; 1979:183–212.

121. Detailed discussions of "guard the One" and the "Three Ones" can be found in Andersen 1979; Kohn 1989a; Maspero 1981:272–283; Robinet 1977:149–203; 1979:183–212; 1984:30–32; and Yoshioka 1976:285–352.

122. 27/11/39; trans. Watson 1968:120.

123. Cammann 1961:62–63; Robinet 1989b:179; Xiong 1996:274–275.

124. *Hsi-sheng-ching chu*, *HY*.726, f.449–450: 6.17b; trans. Kohn 1989a:150, with changes.

125. For the Buddhist use of *shou-i*, see esp. Buswell 1989:137–157; Chappell 1983:96–100; Faure 1984:858–872; 1986:112–114; Kohn 1989a:152–154; McRae 1986:138–144; and T'ang 1955:71.

126. See, for example, the former monk's *Fo-shuo p'u-sa nei-hsi liu-po-lo-mi ching* 佛說菩薩內習六波羅蜜經, T.778: 17.714b26–c1 (Buswell 1989:140–141). Also note the use of the homophone *shou-i* 守意 in the title of An Shih-kao's *Ta an-pan shou-i ching* 大安般守意經, T.602.

127. T'ang 1955:71. Arguments against T'ang can be found in Faure 1984: 858; 1986:112–114; and Kohn 1989a:153.

128. *Shou-i* is found in Tao-hsin's *Ju-tao an-hsin yao-fang-pien fa-men* 入道安心要方便法門, T.2837: 85.1288a20–22 (cf. Chappell 1983:114; Buswell 1989:142); and 1288b16 (cf. Chappell 1983:116; McRae 1986:141; and Buswell 1989:142). *Shou-hsin* 守心 appears in the *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun* T.2011: 48.377b1, 15, c11; 378c6 and 14. This latter work was published in Korea in 1570 and rediscovered in several manuscripts at Tun-huang (S.2669, S.3558, S.4064, S.6159, P.3434, P.3559, P.3777). While it is traditionally attributed to Hung-jen, this remains a matter of dispute among Japanese scholars. Detailed notes on the history of the text can be found in McRae 1986:309–312, and an edition is included at the end of that volume. Translations can be found in McRae 1986:121–132 and Pachow 1963; see also the discussion in Buswell 1989:144 n. 53.

129. T.273: 9.370a24–26; trans. Buswell 1989:219.

130. T.273: 9.370a28–29; see discussion in Buswell 1989:153–155.

131. T.2076: 51.457a28–29; see discussion in Faure 1984:867–868.

132. Emend 不相借 to 不相待 (cf. 144b20, 145a20–21).

133. Personal communication; see MH 8.259d.

134. T.1858: 45.152b6, 154a22.

135. 2.4, 1–5. My translation of this laconic exchange must be considered tentative.

136. For textual information on the *Wu fang-pien*, see McRae 1986:327–330 n. 161; for the *Fa-chü-ching shu* (P.2325; T.2902: 85) see Tanaka 1983:408–412; and for a discussion of the term "*wu-i-wu*," see McRae 1986:238.

137. T.2008: 48.349a7–8; trans. McRae 1986:237. See also the discussion in Yampolsky 1967:94 n. 17.

138. See, for example, Kuan-ting's 灌頂 preface to the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, T.1911: 46.1a11; see also Ting 1984:236; and Nakamura 1981:982.

139. The use of *chen-jen* differed considerably depending on the sect and time period; see Maspero 1981:351, 361, and passim.

140. T.1985: 47.496a29 and 496c10–12.

141. My translation borrows from Mair 1990:62 and Lau 1963:60. See also *Tao-te ching* 56: "Blunt the sharpness, unravel the knots, harmonize the radiance, and mingle with the dust; this is called mysterious sameness" 挫其銳、解其紛、和其光、同其塵、是謂玄同 (trans. follows Mair 1990:25 and Lau 1963:117).

142. The *Pi-yen lu*, which has Yün-men quoting the *Treasure Store Treatise*, reads 乾坤 for 天地 (T.2003: 48.193c23–24), as does the *Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu*

宏智禪師廣録 (T.2001: 48.26c18). The *Ts'ung-jung lu* 從容録 records the *Pi-yen lu* reading when quoting Yün-men's "case" but uses 天地 in the commentary to the case (T.2004: 48.286c13, 18).

143. The *Ts'ung-jung lu* reads 虛照 for 靈照 (T.2004: 48.286c19).

144. The *Ts'ung-jung lu* reads 離見 for 難見 (the latter reading is provided by the Taishō editors as a variant; T.2004: 48.286c19).

145. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* reads 位 for 號 (2.63.1–2), and the *Ts'ung-jung lu* reads 用 for 號 (the latter appears as a variant).

146. T.2003: 48.193c23–25, T.2001: 48.26c18–19, and T.2004: 48.286c13–14, respectively. The quote is also found in the *Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* 明覺禪師語録, compiled in the 1030s (T.1996: 47.683c25–27). In this text no mention is made of the source of the quotation; it is simply presented in the context of a short formal lecture (*shang-t'ang* 上堂).

147. T.2019a: 48.1000c20–21.

148. T.1858: 45.159a13.

149. See T.2902: 85.1435a22–23. The form of the quote given here, which differs slightly from the Taishō text, is the one commonly reproduced in the Ch'an materials mentioned below. Two manuscripts of the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* were recovered at Tun-huang, namely, S.2021 and a second one now in the Nakamura collection 中村不折氏藏. The Taishō edition (T.2901: 85.1434b–1435c) is based on the latter, as the beginning of the Stein text is missing. There is also a commentary to this text, the *Fa-chü-ching shu* 法句經疏 (P.2325 and T.2902: 85). Although valuable, the commentary does not reproduce the sūtra in full. The *Fa-chü ching* was clearly important in early Ch'an circles, as seen by the fact that it is quoted in the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi*, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, the *Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun* 達磨禪師論, the *Ma-tsu yü-lu*, the *Tun-wu ju-tao yao-men lun*, and so on. An excellent summary of current research on the *Fa-chü ching*, including a full description of extant manuscripts and fragments, is found in Tanaka 1983:401–412.

150. See the *Leng-ch'ieh shih-tzu chi* (Yanagida 1971:63), *Ma-tsu yü-lu* (Iriya 1984:19), and *Tsung-ching lu*, where it appears in the record of Lung-ya Chü-tun 龍牙居遁 (T.2016: 48.946a2). It is also quoted in Fa-tsang's *Wang-chin huan-yüan kuan* 妄盡還源觀 (T.1876; see Yanagida 1971:67). The later diffusion of the phrase in Ch'an materials is most likely due to its appearance in the *Pi-yen lu* (T.2003: 48.168c29 and passim).

151. See 145c10, 146a10, 149b26, and 150a14.

152. Yanagida 1971:67; Iriya 1984:21.

153. *Chuang-tzu* 37/14/15, 89/32/22.

154. See, for example, the *Huang-t'ing ching*: "The domain of the three purities consists of the Great Purity, the Upper Purity, and the Jade Purity" 三清之境有太清、上清、玉清 (*nei* 1:1 註).

155. *Pao-p'u-tzu* 15.10b; trans. follows Ware 1966:258–259, with changes. See also *Pao-p'u-tzu* 10.6b: "Among those who attain immortality, some may ascend to [the heaven of] Great Clarity, some may soar in the Purple Firmament 紫霄, some may journey to the Dark Isle 玄洲, and some may nest a while in Pan-t'ung 板桐" (trans. Ware 1966:175, with changes).

156. On the mythological connotations of the term, see esp. Girardot 1983.

157. T.262: 9.29a6–14; trans. Hurvitz 1976:164–165.

158. Note that the more common term in such contexts is *yin-ju-chieh* 陰入界. The latter term, "*chieh*" (Sk. *dhātu*), refers to the eighteen realms, consisting of the twelve sense-fields (Sk. *āyatana*) and the corresponding six consciousnesses (eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, etc.). There is thus considerable overlap between the three categories of *yin*, *ju*, and *chieh*.

159. T.475: 14.538c5.

160. T.2837: 85.1283b; Yanagida 1971:67.

4. Chapter Two: The Essential Purity of Transcendence and Subtlety

1. See, for example, Hirata 1969:95; Oda 1983:1791b; and Ting 1984:1439d–1440a.

2. See the entries on *ribi* 離微 in Nakamura 1981:1417d and Komazawa ed. 1985:1268d, which cite the *Mo-chao ming* 默照銘 and the *Tsung-ching lu*, while omitting mention of the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

3. It is perhaps significant in this regard that it has only been possible to identify one-third of the approximately thirty-one quotations found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*. It is possible that many of the remaining citations were culled from apocryphal scriptures that no longer survive.

4. These include the *Tsung-ching lu* of 961 (T.2016: 48.494b, 915b, 915c); the *Ming-chüeh ch'an-shih yü-lu* compiled in the 1030s (T.1996: 47.698b); the *Hung-chih ch'an-shih kuang-lu* of 1132 (and significantly, the *Mo-chao ming*, which is preserved therein, T.2001: 48.11b, 26c, 28b, 80a, 87b, 100a–b, 102a, 103c, 106c, 107a, 108c, 109b, 110b, 112a6–7, 112c27, 115c, 116c, 117a, 117c, 119a); the *Wan-sung lao-jen p'ing-ch'ang T'ien-t'ung Chüeh ho-shang sung-ku Ts'ung-jung-an lu* 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容庵録 of 1124 (T.2004: 48.286b); the *Ju-ching ho-shang yü-lu* 如淨和尚語録 compiled in 1229 (T.2002a: 48.129a); the *Wu-men kuan* 無門關 compiled in 1228 (T.2005: 48.296a13); and the *Hsü-t'ang ho-shang yü-lu* 虛堂和尚語録, which was first printed in 1269 (T.2000: 47.1034b21).

5. T.2005: 48.296a13.

6. T.2001: 112a6–7.

7. T.1858: 45.152b25 and 151b12, respectively.

8. T.1858: 45.153c27–28.

9. Note the following passages in the *Chao lun*: "If you grasp the meaning that is fine and subtle 毫微, then although [the four seasons and the Great Bear may seem to] rush by, there is no actual movement" (T.1858: 45.151c18); "Affirmation and negation are of a single breath. The hidden, subtle, abstruse, and recondite 潛微幽隠 is hardly something that common minds can exhaust" (T.1858: 45.152a12).

10. The term "*t'ung-jen*" 通人, or "adept," is used for the advocate of the Taoist position.

11. The quotations are from *Tao-te ching* 14.

12. T.2110: 52.536c13–23.

13. In other words, one rarely finds syntactic constructions of the type 之離 or 離者.

14. The *li* trigram consists of a *yin* line surrounded by two *yang* lines, denot-

ing brightness, fire, the sun, lightning, and so on. It is also the name of hexagram 30 (consisting of two *li* trigrams), understood variously as brightness, cohesion, attachment, or clinging.

15. T.1666: 32.576b12; see Zeuschner 1983:132.

16. Zeuschner ends by warning against the hasty conclusion that the Southern School intentionally misinterpreted the intent of the Northern School's use of *li nien* (1983:145–146).

17. It is possible that the second *li* is a dittography, in which case the passage should read: "[Yes,] I have transcended."

18. T.2839: 85.1291c23–27.

19. Cf. T.2834: 85.1273c21–1274a1. Various versions of the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men*, under different titles, have been recovered at Tun-huang, the most important being S.2503, P.2058, and P.2270. (These documents were used to produce the Taishō edition, T.2834: 85.) Textual information can be found in McRae 1986:327–330 n. 161; and editions are available in Ui 1939:447–510 and Suzuki 1968–1971:3.153–253. For a composite translation of the various manuscripts, see McRae 1986:171–196.

20. I have veered from the punctuation of the Taishō text (which follows that of the *Shukusatsu zōkyō* 32.1.2b and other punctuated compilations). The Taishō punctuation would yield something like the following: "In entering there is transcendence and in emerging there is subtlety. When wisdom enters, the outer [realm] is transcended and defilements have nothing of which to take hold. When wisdom emerges, the inner [realm] is rendered subtle and the mind is freed of intentional activity."

21. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* reads 機 for 羈 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

22. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* reads 機 for 羈 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

23. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* omits 自 (T.2067: 51.303b21).

24. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* reads 無有故無無 for 無有故無衣 (T.2067: 51.303b21), which maintains the symmetry of the passage: just as there can be no concept of purity without impurity, there can be no concept of nonexistence without the concept of existence.

25. See McRae 1986:202. This term is actually borrowed from Chih-i's analysis of different styles of *Lotus Sūtra* exegesis, where "mind-discerning exegesis" (*kuan-hsin shih*) refers to the fourth and highest mode of interpretation; see the first fascicle of the *Miao-fa-lien-hua-ching wen-chü* by Chih-i (T.1718); as well as McRae 1986:201–205, 339–340; and Faure 1984:101–102.

26. T'an-luan, for example, says in his commentary to the *Sukhāvatīvyūhopadeśa*: "If a man is once born into the Pure Land of peace and bliss but at a later time wishes to be reborn in the triple realm in order to teach and convert living beings, he forsakes the Pure Land and attains rebirth according to his wishes" (*Wu-liang-shou-ching yu-p'o-t'i-she yüan-sheng-chieh chu*, T.1819: 40.838a24–25).

27. T.1858: 45.157c8.

28. MH 12.93a; see also the same phrase in Li 1980:650a.

29. T.1858: 45.157a9.

30. See, for example, the *Ta-hsiao-p'in tui-pi yao ch'ao-hsü*, T.2145: 55.55a27.

31. On this term see App 1995b:82 n. 61; Demiéville 1973c:252; Hurvitz 1968: 247; and Zürcher 1972:1.126.

32. The same phrasing is also found in chapter 1 of the *Lieh-tzu* (Kobayashi 1967:19); see my commentary to section 143c15 above.

33. 11/4/71; trans. Watson 1968:64.

34. T.1911: 46.81b15–18; cf. ibid. 60a7, 81c6.

35. T.2003: 48.146b27. See also the recurring phrase "Great Functioning appears before you; it does not abide in fixed principles" (T.2003: 48.142c5, 148a26).

36. See the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, T.1911: 46.67a19, 113b14, and passim.

37. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, for example, distinguishes between nondiscriminating wisdom (*wu-fen-pieh-chih* 無分別智, Sk. *nirvakalpajñāna*) and contingently established wisdom (*ju-so-chien-li-chih* 如所建立智, Sk. *yathāvyavasthāna*; T.1604: 31.626b8–15). Buddhist reference works also note the following pairs: wisdom of the ultimate principle (*ju-li-chih* 如理智) versus discriminative wisdom [of the phenomenal world] (*ju-liang-chih* 如量智), fundamental wisdom (*ken-pen-chih* 根本智) versus acquired wisdom (*hou-te-chih* 後得智), true wisdom (*shih-chih* 實智) versus expedient wisdom (*ch'üan-chih* 權智), etc. (MZ 4.3546c; Nakamura 1981:1049a; Ting 1984:41c–42a).

38. T.945: 19.110c22–23; cf. Araki 1986:98.

39. T.945: 19.113c7–9; cf. Araki 1986:155.

40. T.475: 14.551c; cf. the translation in Lamotte 1976:202–203. See also the discussion in Lamotte 1976:203 n. 43; and Nagao 1955.

41. Reading 遍 for 偏 (cf. 145c23).

42. I follow the textual variant *ning* 凝 rather than *ai* 疑. *Ning* (still, stiff, frozen as ice) is frequently used in Ch'an-related texts to describe the mind in a state of clarity and stillness. The following expression, *ch'en-mo* 沈沒, literally means "to sink" and thus plays on the hydrous metaphor.

43. T.1911: 46.105a16–17.

44. T.1927: 46.704b20; see Nakamura 1981:1368c.

45. Note the use of the term "*sheng-ch'u*" 生處 (realm of rebirth) in the *Lotus Sūtra*: "Moreover [he who accepts the *Lotus Sūtra*] shall thoroughly see and thoroughly know the causes and conditions, the fruits and retributions, of the beings' deeds and places of birth" 亦見其中一切衆生及業因緣果報生處悉見悉知 (T.262: 9.47c; trans. Hurvitz 1976:264).

46. See, for example, the *Laṅkāvatāra* T.670: 16.487a, 494c; T.671: 16.521b.

47. Following the variant 含 for 舍. Cf. the similar phrasing above (146b21): 是以含通大象、包入萬物.

48. That is, the Ch'ang-an pronunciation during the High T'ang; see Pulleyblank 1991:187, 188; and Tōdō 1978:1443, 839.

49. Pulleyblank 1991:327, 289; Tōdō 1978:813, 1171.

50. Note the similar passage above: "It functions in response to things and assumes a myriad aspects, yet its countenance is never observed" 應用萬端而不見其容 (146a12).

51. T.475: 14.546b.

52. For the use of *t'ung* 通 as "power," see the comments on *wu-t'ung* 五通 (five powers) below (147b29).

53. T.360: 12.268a6–8.

54. For a general discussion of the "trischiliocosm in a single moment of thought," see MZ 1.158b–159c; and Hurvitz 1980:271–318.

55. Pulleyblank's reconstructions show a difference only in tone (*jywn* versus *jywn*`; Pulleyblank 1991:267, 377); cf. Tōdō 1978:360, 853.

56. See Demiéville 1952:52 n. 2; and Suzuki 1934:274.

57. P.4646 and S.2672. The Pelliot manuscript has been photographically reproduced in Demiéville's study of the work (1952). See also Gómez 1983.

58. Luis Gómez quotes the following from a fragment of Mo-ho-yen's work as a convenient summary of his teachings: "The state of *saṃsāra* is merely the result of deluded thoughts 妄想. Enlightenment is achieved by not grasping at these thoughts and not dwelling on them 不取不住, by not bringing them to the mind 不思, by not inspecting the mind 不觀, but by merely being aware 覺 of all thoughts as they arise" (Gómez 1983:89, translating from the Tibetan; the Chinese equivalents are reconstructed from an examination of Mo-ho-yen's corpus; see ibid. 152 n. 43).

59. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 者 (T.2016: 48.494b10).

60. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 也 for 之義 (T.2016: 48.494b11).

61. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 之乘 for 諸乘 (T.2016: 48.494b12).

62. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 之 (T.2016: 48.494b13).

63. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 譬 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

64. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 相 for 象 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

65. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 作 (T.2016: 48.494b14).

66. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 亦無 (T.2016: 48.494b15).

67. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 合 for 含 (T.2016: 48.494b17).

68. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 合 for 含 (T.2016: 48.494b17).

69. T.2016: 48.494b9–c9.

70. *Fang-pien p'in* 方便品, T.262: 9.7a.

71. T.2825: 85.1231b2–3; Kamata 1965:382.

72. T.475: 14.543c29, 545c.

73. T.273: 9.369a29.

74. See Buswell 1989:88, 112; 1985:498 n. 1.

75. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 五種通 for 五通 (T.2016: 48.494b19).

76. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 妖通者 for 何謂妖通 (T.2016: 48.494b20).

77. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 木石精化附傍人神聰慧奇異此謂妖通 for 木石之精附傍人身聰慧奇特此爲妖通 (T.2016: 48.494b21).

78. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 隠變 for 變化 (T.2016: 48.494b23).

79. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b23).

80. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b24).

81. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 記 for 既 (T.2016: 48.494b25).

82. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b26).

83. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 像 for 象 (T.2016: 48.494b27).

84. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 謂 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b27).

85. The usual list comprises (1) the divine eye, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of previous lives, (4) knowledge of others' minds, and (5) the ability to do anything and go anywhere at will. The term "*pañca-abhijñā*" is rendered *wu-t'ung* in a variety of sūtras known to the author, including the *Vimalakīrti* (see T.475: 14.541c and passim).

86. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 謂分別 for 分別 (T.2016: 48.494b28).

87. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 皆 for 該 (T.2016: 48.494b29).

88. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 名 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494b29).

89. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 割斷 for 斷割 (T.2016: 48.494c1).

90. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 無有 for 有無 (T.2016: 48.494c2), which yields: "extinction without residue."

91. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 名 for 爲 (T.2016: 48.494c2).

92. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 不二 for 無二 (T.2016: 48.494c3).

93. *Tsung-ching lu* omits 故 (T.2016: 48.494c3).

94. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 則 for 即 (T.2016: 48.494c4).

95. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 則 for 即 (T.2016: 48.494c5).

96. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 本性 for 體性 (T.2016: 48.494c5).

97. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 智 for 知 (T.2016: 48.494c6).

98. *Tsung-ching lu* reads 辯了 for 辨也 (T.2016: 48.494c7).

99. One common enumeration is (1) The knowledge of all things that is possessed by the adherents of the small vehicle (*i-ch'ieh-chih* 一切智), (2) the knowledge of the Way possessed by bodhisattvas (*tao-chung-chih* 道種智), and (3) the omniscience of a buddha (*i-ch'ieh-chung-chih* 一切種智). Another is (1) the worldly knowledge of non-Buddhists and *pṛthagjana* (*shih-chien-chih* 世間智), (2) the transcendental knowledge of those of the small vehicle (*ch'u-shih-chien-chih* 出世間智), and (3) the supreme knowledge of buddhas and bodhisattvas (*ch'u-shih-chien shang-shang-chih* 出世間上上智); see MH 1.165d and MZ 2.1613b–1614a.

100. T.475: 14.539a3–5; see also ibid. 540c20–21 and 546a26–27 for the same formula.

101. T.262: 9.61a3–4.

102. Yanagida's concordance to the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, for example, lists twenty-eight occurrences of this term (Yanagida ed. 1984:2.977).

103. T.475: 14.541c. Clear distinctions among the "five eye-faculties" are found primarily in commentaries and scholastic materials. For a full discussion see MZ 2.1170 and Lamotte 1976:67 n. 57.

104. T.370: 12.274a4–6.

105. There are six occurrences in all (Yanagida ed. 1984:1.545).

106. I have not been able to locate the expression "shell of form" (*hsing-k'o* 形殼) elsewhere, but I would note its affinities to other expressions found in the *Treasure Store Treatise*, including *k'o-chü-che* 殼居者 (144b18) and *hsing-shan* 形山 (145b23–24) above. The lines "The dharma-body remains concealed within the shell of form; true wisdom remains concealed within discursive thought" are quoted in Tsung-mi's *Ta-fang-kuang yüan-chüeh hsiu-to-lo liao-i-ching lüeh-shu chu* (T.1795: 39.533b18–19) as well as his *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu* (*HTC* 14.133b3–4).

107. *Nei* 27:5; 28:6 註; and 28:7 註.

108. T.1911: 46.106c19–23, 109b8.

109. T.235: 8.749c23–25.

110. 17/6/58–60; trans. Watson 1968:85.

111. T.475: 14.551a19–20; cf. the translation from the Tibetan in Lamotte 1976:195.

112. T.251: 8.848c8.

113. The *Mo-ho po-jo po-lo-mi ching* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T.223: 8.223a14. Jan Nattier has raised questions concerning the provenance of the Hsüan-tsang translation of the *Heart Sūtra*; Nattier believes that the text was produced in China on

the basis of a section from the *Mo-ho po-jo po-lo-mi ching* and that Hsüan-tsang may have been responsible for the "back-translation" of the Chinese apocryphon into Sanskrit; see Nattier 1992.

114. Lancaster reports that this text is duplicated more than any other in the stone-carved canon at Fang-shan, a site seventy-five kilometers southwest of Peking (Lancaster 1989:150). Of the sixteen copies of the Hsüan-tsang version of the *Heart Sūtra* found at Fang-shan, eleven can be dated to the T'ang, and two bear the date 842.

115. 15/6/7–8; trans. Watson 1968:78.

116. 16/6/24–25; trans. Watson 1968:80.

117. Suzuki 1934:354b; Nakamura 1981:1340c.

118. The phrase "without knowing" (*wu-chih* 無知) is found throughout the four essays of the *Chao lun* (T.1858: 45.150c1, 153b4, 154b11, 158c24, etc.), but note especially the title of the third essay, *Po-jo wu chih* 般若無知 (*Prajñā* Is without Knowing).

119. T.475: 14.555a16–17; Lamotte reconstructs the original term as *bhūtakoṭi* (1976:241).

120. T.1858: 45.153a3.

5. Chapter Three: The Empty Mystery of the Point of Genesis

1. On the term "*pen-chi*" in Buddhist and Taoist contexts, see esp. the discussions in Kamata 1965:319; 1968:126, 238; Wu Chi-yu 1960:5–10; Kohn 1992:140; and Nakamura 1981:1261.

2. *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng*, T.2104: 52.389c28–390a11; see the discussion of this debate below and Kamata 1968:128.

3. T.458: 14.437a13 and T.224: 8.448b25–27, respectively.

4. See the discussions in Lancaster 1968:119–126; 1975:3–39.

5. T.224: 8.448b25–27.

6. Compare T.226: 8.525c8: 便中道爲本際作證得聲聞 and T.224: 8.453c8: 便中道得阿羅漢道不復還. Note also the similar use of the term in the Dharmapriya translation at T.226: 8.531a15 and 532a15. For the controversy concerning the date of the Dharmapriya translation, see Lancaster 1975:32. Lancaster implies that the term "*pen-chi*" is not found in the *Ta ming-tu ching* 大明度經, the translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* by Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (Lancaster 1975:38), but this is incorrect. In fact, Chih Ch'ien uses *pen-chi* for "nirvāṇa" with precisely the same derogatory connotations as the cases noted above (T.225: 8.497a18).

7. T.263: 9.96c11. See additional references in Karashima 1998:17.

8. T.221: 8.130b20.

9. See the discussions in *Hōbōgirin* 1.31a and MZ 5.4694c–4695a. This doctrine is more commonly known as *pen-sheng-chi* 本生計, the "doctrine of original birth."

10. 319.1–4; trans. Radhakrishnan and Moore 1957:65

11. T.1640: 32.158b2–8.

12. T.1833: 43.832b20–21. I have translated the text as it stands (唯有火水), but the character 火 may be a mistake for 大.

13. T.1736: 36.102b21–25 and T.1830: 43.262c5–8, respectively. Ch'eng-kuan's version reads as follows:

The "point of genesis" refers to the beginning of time past, that is to say, the very beginning of the world 本際者即過去之初首、謂計世間最初. There was only a great expanse of water. In time there emerged a great *aṇḍa*. Its shape was that of a chicken egg, and its color was that of gold. Later it split into two, and the top half became the sky and the bottom earth. In the middle was born Brahmā, who was able to create all the animate and inanimate things. Therefore, Brahmā is the cause of the myriad things.

14. *Tsa a-han ching* 雜阿含經, T.99: 2.41c17–18.

15. This list is derived, in part, from Wu Chi-yu 1960:5–10.

16. T.1564: 30.16a–b. This corresponds to chapter 11, *Pūrvāparakoṭiparīksā*, in Chandrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*.

17. *Chin kuang-ming ching* 金光明經, T.663: 16.339c17.

18. *Sheng-man shih-tzu-hou i-sheng ta-fang-pien fang-kuang ching* 勝鬘獅子吼一乘大方便方廣經, T.353: 12.222b6.

19. *Leng-ch'ieh a-pa-to-lo pao ching* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T.670: 16.512a12. See also 512a14, 513a10, and 513b9, in which *pen-chi* corresponds to Sanskrit *pūrvakoṭi*.

20. *Ju leng-ch'ieh ching* 入楞伽經, T.671: 16.559a12, 559a16, 560b22–23, and 561a6, where *pen-chi* translates *pūrvakoṭi*. The term also occurs translating *koṭi*: T.671: 16.559a22.

21. *Chiu-ching i-sheng pao-hsing lun*, by Sāramati (Chien-hui 堅慧), T.1611: 31. 839a21. This attribution to Sāramati is found in the commentary to the **Mahāyānadharmadhātunirviśeṣa-śāstra* by Fa-tsang, namely, the *Ta-sheng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun shu* 大乘法界無差別論疏, T.1838: 44.63c; see Takasaki 1966:9.

22. *Ta-sheng t'ung-hsing ching*, T.673: 16.651b15.

23. The chapter in the *Chung lun* is found at T.1564: 30.16a4–b19. For Chi-tsang's commentary see T.1824: 42.100b9–102b4.

24. *Tao-te ching* 1. The vulgate reads, "The nameless is the origin of heaven and earth. . . ."

25. The five abidings are (1) abiding in wrong views, (2) abiding in desire in the *kamadhātu*, (3) abiding in desire in the *rūpadhātu*, (4) abiding in desire in the *arūpadhātu*, (5) abiding in ignorance within the triple realm (Sk. *triloka*); see Nakamura 1981:367b.

26. Sk. *avyākṛtavastūni*; see the discussion in Chapter 1 of this study.

27. T.1824: 42.100c16–101a22.

28. It is not clear if this is supposed to represent an Indian or a Chinese theory. Kamata tentatively suggests that the obscure phrase "the autonomous spontaneity of the dark origin" 冥初自在 may refer to the deity Ta-tzu-tsai-shen 大自在神 (1968:127).

29. T.842: 17.913a27–29.

30. T.842: 17.918a12–13. Yanagida, in his edition of the *Yüan-chüeh ching*, parses the passage differently: "The unexcelled mind of great awakening is in reality devoid of the mark of duality" (Yanagida 1987:156; cf. Muller 1999:180).

31. See Chapter 1, note 33, for textual information on the *Chiu-ching ta-pei ching*.

32. T.2880: 85.1372b10–1373a12.

33. Textual details can be found in the discussion of Twofold Mystery Taoism in Chapter 1.

34. *Chung a-han ching* 中阿含經, translated between 397 and 398; see T.26: 1.487b3–c23.

35. *Tsa a-han ching* 雜阿含經, translated between 435 and 442; see T.99: 2.240b12–243b11.

36. In the first *āgama*, *pen-chi* corresponds to the Pāli term "*koṭi*" (the extreme point), and in the second, to the term "*pubbākoṭi*" (the earliest point); see Wu Chi-yu 1960:6.

37. P.2806: 4.7, lines 163–168.

38. Li Jung is quoting from *Tao-te ching* 25: "Man is modeled on the earth, the earth is modeled on heaven, heaven is modeled on the Tao, and the Tao is modeled on the self-so."

39. *Chi ku-chin fo-tao lun-heng*, T.2104: 52.390a1–9.

40. Japanese Zen scholars typically explain the term "*pen-chi*" as equivalent to *jissai* 實際, *jitsuzai* 實在, *shinnyo* 眞如, and so on (Yanagida 1987:11; Kamata 1968: 126; and Komazawa ed. 1985:1162c).

41. Girardot 1983:57. Girardot notes that elsewhere in the *Tao-te ching* the Tao is identified with the One (i.e., sections 10, 14, 22, 39). This fact along with the presence of *yin-yang* terminology (which dates to a period after the original compilation of the *Tao-te ching*) has given rise to considerable speculation concerning corruptions and possible anachronisms in this passage.

42. For more on images of the "divine female" in ancient Chinese literature, see Schafer 1973, esp. 29–38. The *Tao-te ching* is teeming with female imagery, and Schafer notes the somewhat radical but nonetheless plausible interpretation of the text that makes of the Tao "no abstract entity like Spinoza's 'God,' the ultimate source of real existence, but rather a great mother, an eternal womb from which emerges all of the particular entities that populate this ephemeral world. As the text itself says, 'It is the Mother of all under Heaven—I do not know its Name, but I style it "Way shower" (*tao*)' " (Schafer 1973:33).

43. Cf. the translations by Dharmarakṣa, T.285: 10.476b; Kumārajīva, T.286: 10.514c; Buddhabhadra, T.278: 9.558c; Śikṣānanda, T.279: 10.194a; and Śīladharma, T.287: 10.553a.

44. See the translations by Guṇabhadra, T.670: 16.510a; Bodhiruci, T.671: 16.556a; and Śikṣānanda, T.672: 16.620a.

45. Nanjio edition 118.15, cited in Kamata 1955:384.

46. Kamata also notes that the phrase *hsü-wang pu shih* 虛忘不實 can be found in the third fascicle of the *Ta-sheng i-chang* 大乘義章 by Ching-ying Hui-yüan (T.1851: 44.528a27) as well as fascicle 22 of the *Saṃyuktāgama* translated by Guṇabhadra (T.99: 2.157a28).

47. The Taishō punctuation is in error (cf. 148a29: 性本無爲).

48. T.1851: 44.472c22–23.

49. The secondary literature on this issue is vast; major Western studies include Brown 1991; *Hōbōgirin* 1.185–187; Hookham 1991; King 1991; Ruegg 1989; and Tokiwa 1973.

50. MH 3.544a and *PWYF* 2.1243b.

51. T.2902: 85.1435a23.

52. 18/6/68; trans. Watson 1968:87, with minor changes.

53. 58/22/13; trans. Watson 1968:236, with minor changes.

54. T.1858: 45.152a8 and 152a12.

55. I am currently working on a project that examines the ideological significance of this controversy in early Ch'an as well as its role in later Ch'an writings of the Sung period. On the background of the controversy, see esp. Kamata 1962a; 1965:434–474; Koseki 1977:217–231; 1980; Penkower 1993; Sakamoto 1959; and *Hōbōgirin* 1.186a–187b.

56. The exception were advocates of the Fa-hsiang 法相 teachings introduced by Hsüan-tsang (ca. 600–664), but the Fa-hsiang position on the *icchantika* issue had limited appeal in China.

57. *Ta pan-nieh-p'an ching* 大般涅槃經, T.374. This forty-fascicle text became known as the "Northern Edition." An earlier translation had been completed by Fa-hsien 法顯 in 418 (*Ta pan-ni-yüan ching* 大般泥洹經, T.376), but this short, six-fascicle version did not contain the unambiguous proclamation of the universality of buddha-nature found in the later edition. In 436 a revision of the Dharmakṣema translation was made with reference to the earlier work by Fa-hsien, resulting in the thirty-six-fascicle text known as the "Southern Edition" (T.375). On Tao-sheng and the early debates concerning the universality of buddha-nature, see T'ang 1955:2.601–676; Tokiwa 1973:178–193; Liu Ming-Wood 1982; 1984; and Liebenthal 1956.

58. T.374: 12.581a22–23.

59. *Ta-sheng hsüan lun*, T.1853: 45.40a–41a. On Chi-tsang's theory of buddha-nature, see esp. Koseki 1977:186–268; and 1980.

60. *Chin-kang pei* 金剛錍, T.1932. On the *Chin-kang pei* see Fung 1953:384–386; Ikeda 1974; Kamata 1965:466–474; Penkower 1993; and Sakamoto 1959.

61. For Tao-hsin see T.2837: 85.1289b8–9; Yanagida 1971:264; and Faure 1984: 2.661, 722 n. 122. For Hung-jen see T.2837: 85.1290a14–18; and Yanagida 1971: 287–288. Note that, according to later sources, Hung-jen is decidedly opposed to the buddha-nature of insentient things (T.2007: 48.344b9–10; Yanagida ed. 1984: 1.85.11–12; T.2076: 51.223a17–18; T.2008: 48.349a26–27).

62. T.2016: 48.943a23–b3.

63. See *Tsu-t'ang chi*, 1.121–126 (cf. *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T.2076: 51.438a9–b11).

64. Opponents to the thesis included Huang-po Hsi-yün 黄檗希運 (d. 850?; *Huang-po Tuan-chi ch'an-shih wan-ling lu* 黄檗斷際禪師宛陵録, T.2012b: 48.386b2–5; cf. T.2012: 48.381a28–29); and Ta-chu Hui-hai 大珠慧海 (*Tsu-t'ang chi*, 4.47.5–11; and *Tun-wu yao-men* 頓悟要門, in Hirano 1970:138, 155, and 175).

65. This phrase, which seems to emerge in San-lun commentaries (Okuno 1997), appears repeatedly in debates concerning the buddha-nature of insentient things; see, for example, the *Tsu-t'ang chi* records for Nan-yang Hui-chung (1.125.13), Tung-shan Liang-chieh (2.65.3), and Ta-chu Hui-hai (4.47.6).

66. *Shen-hui yü-lu* 神會語録, in Hu Shih 1968:139.

67. Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976:91; cf. the English translation on pp. 10–11. The first of the two quotations that end the passage may come from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (T.278 and T.279), which contains numerous statements to the same effect. The second quotation is a slightly modified version of a passage in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* (T.475: 14.542b12–13).

68. *HY*.1121, f.762–763: 8.6b; see the discussion of this text in Chapter 1 of this study.

69. T.475: 14.543a4–5.

70. T.2008: 48.340a13–15; trans. Yampolsky 1967:148.

71. See, for example, the *Ta-sheng i-chang* by Ching-ying Hui-yüan (T.1851: 44.588c6–7, 606b6); Chi-tsang's *Ta-sheng hsüan lun* (T.1853: 45.47c11) as well as his *Erh-ti i* (T.1854: 45.113a17); and Fa-tsang's *Hua-yen-ching ming-fa-p'in nei-li san-pao chang* 華嚴經明法品内立三寶章 (T.1874: 45.618b8–11).

72. See, for example, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan,* T.1911: 46.64b27–c21.

73. T.1666: 32.576c10–13 and 578a7–10.

74. This is the case, for example, in the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou-fo ching* 觀無量壽佛經 (T.365: 12.342c4, 9–10), the Kumārajīva translation of the *A-mi-t'o ching* 阿彌陀經 (T.366: 12.347a16, 23), as well as the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (1.123.10).

75. On the appearance of *nien-seng* in lists of the *liu-nien* 六念, *pa-nien* 八念, and *shih-nien* 十念, see MZ 5.5074a, 5.4223b, and 3.2346b, respectively. See also Yamada ed. 1984:78 n. 2.

76. See the *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen ching* 方廣大莊嚴經, T.187: 3.544b7.

77. T.475: 14.554a7–9.

78. T.672: 16.620a17–18.

79. T.2831: 85.1269b4.

80. See the *Ch'i-fo pa-p'u-sa so-shuo ta-t'o-lo-ni shen-chou ching* 七佛八菩薩所説大陀羅尼神呪經 , T.1332: 21.546c23–24. The name of the translator of this text, which appeared in the Eastern Chin (317–420), is now lost.

81. T.475: 14.549b17–22.

82. T.475: 14.541b1–6.

83. The *Vimalakīrti* states that a bodhisattva established in inconceivable liberation is able to place the whole of Mount Sumeru into a single mustard seed, without any decrease in the size of the mountain or any increase in the size of the mustard seed (T.475: 14.546b24–29; cf. Lamotte 1976:142–143). Sumeru is an image of something fantastically big, while the mustard seed is an image of something minuscule. The well-known image is repeated in innumerable Chinese works, including the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* (T.1911: 46.51c8–9) and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (2.77.4, 4.92.12, 5.25.13–14).

84. Komazawa ed. 1985:1260d; and the *Yün-men kuang-lu* 雲門廣録, T.1988: 47.545c27.

85. T.475: 14.554c28–555a4.

86. Tokiwa and Yanagida 1976:90; see the discussion in Chapter 1 of this volume.

87. 40/15/18–41/15/3; trans. Watson 1968:169–170. The term appears some eight times in the *Chuang-tzu,* but it does not seem to have a clearly defined technical meaning.

88. Kobayashi 1967:33; trans. Graham 1990:23, with some changes.

89. MH 8.910b; Nakamura 1981:731b.

90. This text and its numerous commentaries are found in *HY.*108–127, f.54–58. Scholars have long questioned the provenance of this work, and some have attributed it to the mid-eighth-century figure Li Ch'üan 李筌, who "discovered" it in 718 and wrote an important commentary on the text (Legge 1962:2.256–257; MH 11.848d; Robinet 1989a:303 n. 5). Christopher Rand finds evidence for its existence as early as the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century

(Rand 1979:131–137), while Florian Reiter notes that a number of different texts may well have gone by this same title, contributing to the confusion over the origin of the work (Reiter 1984). See also the discussion in Miyakawa 1984 and the translation of the text along with a commentary by Liu I-ming (ca. 1737–?) in Cleary 1991:220–238.

Appendix 1

1. On the many attempts, both traditional and modern, to come to grips with the term "Tantra," see esp. Lopez 1996:83–104, and Urban 1999. Lopez concludes his analysis with the suggestion that Tantra may be "a product of the Western mind," a position that is supported by my analysis of the Chinese case.

2. MZ 3.2032c–2034c; Nakamura 1981:782a, 1297c.

3. The name of the leading Japanese school of Tantra, Shingon-shū 眞言宗 or Shingon-darani-shū 眞言陀羅尼宗, literally means "Mantra school" or "Mantra-*dhāraṇī* school." There have been numerous attempts to determine or stipulate the difference between mantra and *dhāraṇī*. In general, *dhāraṇī* are regarded as potent condensations of scriptures and teachings, used as mnemonic devices as well as for their apotropaic properties. Mantras are often shorter, are more likely to have discernible if garbled semantic content, and typically function as invocations of deities or their powers. Whereas *dhāraṇī* are unique to Buddhism, mantras are found in many Indian traditions. However, such distinctions were often ignored in East Asia, where *dhāraṇī* and mantra were both referred to as "charms" or "spells" (*chou* 呪 or 咒), or "spirit-spells" (*shen-chou* 神呪). See MZ 4.3532b–3534c; Ōmura 1972:38–39; and Strickmann 1990:80–81; as well as the sectarian critiques of Ōmura in the appendix to Katō Seishin et al. 1920:15–20 and Gonda 1985:20–23.

4. See the discussion in Lopez 1996:116–140.

5. On the centrality of kingship to Tantric ritual, see esp. Davidson 1999; Orzech 1998; and Snellgrove 1959.

6. The *kuan-ching* category includes, at a minimum, the following six scriptures: (1) *Kuan-fo san-mei-hai ching* 觀佛三昧海經 (Sūtra on the Oceanlike *Samādhi* of the Contemplation of the Buddha), translated in 420–423 by Buddhabhadra (T.643). (2) *Fo-shuo kuan Wu-liang-shou-fo ching* 佛説觀無量壽佛經 (Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life), the translation of which is attributed to Kālayaśas (T.365); English translations can be found in Takakusu 1894 and Yamada ed. 1984. (3) *Fo-shuo kuan P'u-hsien p'u-sa hsing-fa ching* 佛説觀普賢菩薩行法經 (Sūtra on the Methods of Practicing the Contemplation of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva), translated by Dharmamitra (T.277); English translation in Katō et al. 1975:347–370. (4) *Kuan Mi-le p'u-sa shang-sheng Tou-shuai-t'ien ching* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經 (Sūtra on the Contemplation of Bodhisattva Maitreya's Ascent to Birth in Tuṣita Heaven), translated in 455 by Chü-ch'ü Ching-sheng 沮渠京聲 (T.452). (5) *Kuan Hsü-k'ung-tsang p'u-sa ching* 觀虛空藏菩薩經 (Sūtra on the Contemplation of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva), translated by Dharmamitra (T.409). (6) *Kuan Yao-wang Yao-shang erh-p'u-sa ching* 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 (Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Two Bodhisattvas Medicine King and Superior Medicine), translated by Kālayaśas (T.1161); English translation in

Birnbaum 1979:115–148. Scholars have grouped these texts together on the basis of similarities in both form and content. They all appeared in China in the late fourth to early fifth century, all have similar titles, and all describe similar practices revolving around the contemplation of individual buddhas and bodhisattvas and the recitation of their names. Their authenticity has been questioned, and most, if not all, are now believed to have originated in Central Asia (specifically in the Turfan area) if not in China. See esp. Tsukinowa 1971:43–173; Fujita 1969 and 1985. English treatments can be found in Abe 1990:5–6; Birnbaum 1979:35–48; Fujita 1990; Pas 1977; Soper 1959:144 and passim; Yamabe 1999a; 1999b; and Yamada ed. 1984:xi–xxxiv.

7. The exception is the *Kuan Yao-wang Yao-shang erh-p'u-sa ching*, which was classified, in Japan at least, among the esoteric scriptures.

8. On the sectarian biases of research on East Asian Tantra, see esp. Orzech 1989 and Strickmann 1996:127–133. While I am in sympathy with the spirit of Orzech's and Strickmann's arguments, my own conclusions vis-à-vis the consequences of such bias differ from theirs.

9. A few other prelates are allotted key roles in East Asian esoteric transmissions, including I-hsing 一行 (683–727), Prajñā (Pan-jo 般若, ca. 733–ca. 810), and Hui-kuo 惠果 (746–805).

10. Kūkai's *Benkenmitsu nikyō ron* 辯顯密二教論 (T.2427; Kūkai 1910:1.474–505) and *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請來目録 (T.2161) serve as the loci classici for this distinction; see also the discussions in Abé 1999:187–235 and Hakeda 1972:61–76.

11. The two *maṇḍala* and their corresponding scriptures are as follows: (1) Kongōkai mandara 金剛界曼荼羅 (Sk. *vajradhātu-maṇḍala*), based in part on the *Chin-kang-ting ching* 金剛頂經 (Sk. *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*), which is purported to be a section of the no-longer-extant **Vajraśekhara-sūtra*. The *Chin-kang-ting ching* was translated by Vajrabodhi in 723 (T.866) and again by Amoghavajra in 753 (T.865). (2) The second *maṇḍala* is the Taizōkai mandara 胎藏界曼荼羅 (Sk. *garbhakośadhātu-maṇḍala*), based on chapters 2 and 9 of Śubhakarasiṃha and I-hsing's translation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Ta-jih ching* 大日經 , T.848) along with chapter 5 of their accompanying commentary. Note that there is considerable controversy over the genealogy of these *maṇḍala*: the precise forms that became standard in Japan are unattested elsewhere. In addition, in a personal communication Ryūichi Abé reports that the term "*taizōkai*," or "*garbhadhātu*," does not appear in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* or related scriptures, or in the writings of Kūkai himself. The Sanskrit *garbhadhātu* may be a reconstruction by modern scholars based on the term "*taizōkai*," which itself is a medieval Japanese coinage postdating Kūkai.

12. The 1920 volume of the journal *Mikken* 密鍵 (Esoteric Key) ran a collection of papers by Shingon scholars attacking Ōmura's study in often vitriolic terms (Katō Seishin et al. 1920). This publication was followed a few years later by an extended critique by Gonda Raifu, who was once Ōmura's teacher (Gonda 1985).

13. See the section titled "Mikkyō Bukkyō no dokuritsu" 密教佛教の獨立 (The Independence of Esoteric Buddhism), Toganoo 1982a:16–27.

14. Strickmann 1996:13, 127–133; see also Strickmann 1983:424–426; and 1990: 110 n. 11.

15. Note that Strickmann's explanation of his own use of the term "Tantra" closely follows the traditional Japanese analysis of *junmitsu* rites. According to Strickmann, Tantric rites are structured around a "guest-host" narrative derived from Indian customs for receiving and entertaining a honored guest. The rites make use of *mudrā*, mantra, and visualization in order to establish a relationship with the deity, invoke his presence, welcome him, make offerings, and so on, and fire is frequently used as a medium for sacrificial offerings. The rite culminates in the officiant becoming one with the visiting deity, thereby assuming the divine powers necessary to effect the particular goal of the rite. See Strickmann 1996: 25. Kenneth Eastman also finds it necessary to distinguish Vajrayāna proper from a range of practices with which it is sometimes confused:

> Even though an array of features, such as maṇḍala, mantra, and yoga, are commonly portrayed as distinctive of tantra, these are not genuinely definitive of Vajrayāna literature per se. The soteriological technique of identifying oneself with the divinity through the process of visualization distinguishes Vajrayāna from other forms of Buddhism. This doctrine is not found in the *dhāraṇī* genre of Buddhas scriptures, nor is it the same as the *buddhānusmṛti* visualizations known from the Mahāyāna sūtras, to which the development of tantras seems equally indebted. (Eastman 1983:45)

16. While the terms "*junmitsu*" and "*zōmitsu*" are not found in earlier Shingon works, they may nonetheless have been suggested by Kūkai's writings. Kūkai uses the term "miscellaneous [texts]" (*zōbu* 雜部) in contrast to Shingon sūtras (*Shingon-kyō* 眞言經) in his *Sangakuroku* 三學録 and other works. He also uses the phrase "miscellaneous *maṇḍala*" (*zōmandara* 雜曼荼羅) to refer to *maṇḍala* not based on Shingon scriptures (Misaki 1967:62–63). On the *junmitsu-zōmitsu* distinction see esp. Abé 1999:152–154; Matsunaga Yūkei 1969:5–7; Misaki 1967, 1969; Ōmura 1972:255, 373–375; and Yoritomi 1979:119–124.

17. The terms are regularly used to classify Chinese texts and teachings in the writings of Osabe Kazuo (1963, 1971, and 1982) and Yoritomi Motohiro (1979)—two leading Japanese scholars of Chinese *mikkyō*—as well as in the classic history of East Asian esoterism by Toganoo Shōun (1982a).

18. This has been pointed out by Matsunaga Yūkei, who notes that only in Japan and Tibet did esoterism develop into an independent sect. As such, there are no records of Indian or Chinese scholiasts dividing Buddhism into esoteric and exoteric branches (Matsunaga Yūkei 1989:23–36; 1990:24).

19. The term is found in dozens of translated scriptures, including the *Yang-chüeh-mo-lo ching* 央掘魔羅經 (*Aṅgulimālīya-sūtra*), translated by Guṇabhadra (T.120: 2.525c27); *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang ching* 金光明最勝王經 (**Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*), translated by I-ching (T.665: 16.404b10); *Cheng kung-ching ching* 正恭敬經, translated by Buddhaśānta (T.1496: 24.1102c3); *Ta-pan nieh-p'an ching* 大槃涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), translated by Dharmakṣema (T.374: 12.415c16–17 and passim); *I-tzu fo-ting lun-wang ching* 一字佛頂輪王經, translated by Bodhiruci (T.951: 19.224c7); and the *I-hsiang ch'u-sheng p'u-sa ching* 一向出生菩薩經, translated by Jñānagupta (T.1017: 19.698b14). The term is also found repeatedly in both the sixty- and eighty-fascicle versions of the *Hua-yen ching* 華嚴經 (*Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, T.278 and T.279) as well as in translated *śāstra*s,

such as the *Nieh-p'an lun* 涅槃論 (**Nirvāṇaśāstra*), a short essay on the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* by Vasubandhu translated by Dharmabodhi (T. 1527: 26.280b28).

20. It is stated in fascicle 4 of the *Ta-chih tu lun* that "explicit" (*hsien-shih* 現示) refers to the teachings by which buddhas, *pratyekabuddhas*, and *arhat*s become fields of merit by completely eradicating their defilements. "Hidden" (*pi-mi* 祕密), in contrast, refers to the teachings by which bodhisattvas attain the "patience of the unborn" (*wu-sheng-fa jen* 無生法忍, Sk. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*), and despite eradicating all their defilements, they continue to traverse the six realms for the benefit of sentient beings (T.1509: 25.84c19–95a3). In other words, the two terms are roughly analogous to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. See also fascicle 65 of the same text, where one finds a similar distinction between explicit and hidden aspects of the buddha-dharma, the latter of which are only available to those of sufficient spiritual capacity (T.1509: 25.517a29–b20).

21. The place of a "secret teaching" (*pi-mi-chiao* 祕密教) within the T'ien-t'ai tenet-classification system is a matter of some complexity and debate. The influential but relatively late *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao i* 天台四教儀, by the Korean exegete Chegwan 諦觀 (d. 971), included the "secret teaching" as one of "four methods of conversion" (*hua-i* 化儀)—namely, gradual (*chien* 漸), sudden (*tun* 頓), secret (*pi-mi* 祕密), and indeterminate (*pu-ting* 不定)—which constitute four of the "eight teachings" (*pa-chiao* 八教). But Chegwan has relatively little to say about the secret teaching other than the brief and somewhat ambiguous comment that the Buddha taught the gradual teaching to some and the sudden teaching to others, with each group ignorant of the benefits available to the other (T.1931 46.775b3–5; Chappell et al. eds. 1983:60–61). Chegwan and the later T'ien-t'ai tradition attributed the system of five periods and eight teachings to Chih-i (538–597), but recent studies by Sekiguchi dispute this attribution. (See esp. Sekiguchi ed. 1978, which includes a comprehensive review of his earlier work on the subject as well as the response of his critics, along with Sekiguchi's replies to the criticism; see also the remarks in Chappell et al. 1983:30–40; and Gregory 1991:143–144 n. 22.) More specifically, Sekiguchi found only three "methods of conversion" in Chih-i's corpus: gradual, sudden, and indeterminate. (See, for example, Chih-i's *Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-i*, T.1716: 33.806a16–19.) Sekiguchi attributes the developed T'ien-t'ai *p'an-chiao* to later T'ien-t'ai patriarchs, notably Chan-jan. Chih-i's *Mo-ho chih-kuan* does contain, however, at least one reference to "gradual, sudden, indeterminate, and secret" (T.1911: 46.97c21), and his *Fa-hua lien-hua ching wen-chü* refers to scriptures that are "gradual, sudden, secret, indeterminate, et cetera" (T.1718: 34.3b3–4). Sekiguchi is no doubt correct that Chih-i did not consider such comments to constitute exhaustive enumerations of four discrete "methods of conversion" or "teachings." However, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* reference is cited in Chan-jan's *Chih-kuan ta-i* 止觀大意 (T.1914: 46.459a27–28) and appears to have influenced Chan-jan's own development of the T'ien-t'ai *p'an-chiao*. The resulting discrepancy between three versus four "methods of conversion" seems to have led some T'ien-t'ai scholars to subdivide the "indeterminate teachings" into two types: the "secret indeterminate teachings" (*pi-mi pu-ting-chiao* 祕密不定教) and "explicit indeterminate teachings" (*hsien-lu pu-ting-chiao* 顯露不定教). (See, for example, Hurvitz 1980:247–248, which follows traditional Japanese scholarship on this issue.)

Irrespective of the origins of the T'ien-t'ai *p'an-chiao*, it is apparent that Chih-i, borrowing explicitly from the *Ta-chih tu lun*, used the rubric of a "secret teaching" to accommodate the fact that one teaching or scripture can be understood differently in accordance with an individual's spiritual development.

22. On the relationship between esoterism and Ch'an, see esp. Eastman 1983; Tanaka 1975; and 1983:579–591.

23. I-hsing is perhaps best known as cotranslator, along with Śubhakarasiṃha, of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, but he is credited with the translation of several other esoteric scriptures and commentaries as well, including T.922, T. 981, T.1219, T.1304, T.1309, T.1310, T.1311, and T.1796. The most comprehensive study of I-hsing remains Osabe 1963.

24. I-fu was a dharma heir of Shen-hsiu. See Eastman 1983:54; McRae 1986: 64–65; and Yanagida 1971:323–324.

25. See Eastman 1983:51; McRae 1986:63–64; Yanagida 1971:320, 323; and Komazawa ed. 1985:258b.

26. The full title of the text is *Chin-kang chün-ching chin-kang-ting i-ch'ieh ju-lai shen-miao pi-mi chin-kang-chieh ta-san-mei-yeh hsiu-hsing ssu-shih-erh-chung t'an-fa-ching tso-yung wei-i fa-tse, Ta-p'i-lu-che-na-fo chin-kang hsin-ti fa-men mi-fa chieh-t'an-fa ping-i-tse* 金剛峻經金剛頂一切如來深妙祕密金剛界大三昧耶修行四十二種壇法經作用威儀法則大毘盧遮那佛金剛心地法門祕法戒壇法竝儀則. Six manuscripts, in various states of repair, were recovered from Tun-huang, including P.3913 and S.2144. On this text see esp. Hirai Yūkei 1974; Tanaka 1975; 1980:120–123; and 1983:135–166, 586–591.

27. An edited edition of this chapter is found in Tanaka 1983:138–165.

28. Curiously, this would appear to be around the time that the *T'an-fa i-tse* was composed. It is possible that the incorporation of the Ch'an transmission lineage into the *T'an-fa i-tse* is connected to the developments detailed below, in which Chinese bibliographers and exegetes begin to treat esoterism as a discrete teaching, set apart from Ch'an. These developments might have prompted the author of the *T'an-fa i-tse* to attempt to link the two traditions. But given how little is currently known about the date and provenance of the *T'an-fa i-tse*, it seems premature to speculate.

29. On the sources Tsan-ning used for the biographies of these three masters, see Chou 1945:250.

30. T.2061: 50.714a15–18; trans. Chou 1945:306–307, with changes.

31. On the *chiao-ling-lun* and *chiao-ling-lun shen* 教令輪身 (body of the wheel of instruction and command), see the *Ta-lo chin-kang pu-k'ung chen-shih san-mei-yeh-ching po-jo po-lo-mi-to li-ch'ü shih* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (T.1003: 19.611b16), and the *Jen-wang hu-kuo po-jo po-lo-mi-to-ching t'o-lo-ni nien-sung i-kuei* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經陀羅尼念誦儀軌 (T.994: 19.514a27–b6), both of which were translated by Amoghavajra. See also the discussions in Mikkyō jiten hensankai eds. 1983:844a–c; MZ 1.623a; Orzech 1998:156–158; Sawa ed. 1975:279; and Yoritomi 1979:144–145.

32. While modern Japanese exegetes often explain the three wheel-bodies in terms of the traditional three bodies of the buddha (*trikāya*), the identification is not explicit in the Chinese sources (Orzech 1998:157 n. 69).

33. On Hui-lang see Chou 1945:301 n. 85.

34. For a general discussion of *siddhi*, see MZ 2.1951c–1952c; and Orzech 1998:52–55.

35. T.2061: 50.712b4–5. In this context the "five divisions" presumably refers to the five divisions—five buddhas, five buddha families, five buddha wisdoms, and so forth—of the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*, namely, the buddha division (*fo-pu* 佛部), the *vajra* division (*chin-kang-pu* 金剛部), the jewel division (*pao-pu* 寶部), the lotus division (*lien-hua-pu* 蓮華部), and the karma division (*chieh-ma-pu* 羯磨部). See MZ 2.1280a–1281c; and Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai eds. 1983:631a–b.

36. On these essays, which are appended to the end of each group of biographies, see Wright 1954:390–391.

37. T.2061: 50.724b16–19.

38. T.2061: 50.724b20–22. According to this scheme, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga 迦葉摩騰, celebrated as the first translator of Buddhist texts in China, is the patriarch of the "exoteric teachings," while Bodhidharma is the patriarch of the "heart teachings," that is, Ch'an. I know of no precedent for this usage of the term "Wheel of Mind" (*hsin-lun*).

39. A note on the colophon to the extant text states that it is a "revision" of 999. On the history of this text, see esp. Makita 1957:113–116. Makita believes that Tsan-ning must have begun to work in earnest on this text immediately after the completion of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*. The recension found in the Taishō and the *HTC* includes an introduction by Fa-tao 法道 (1086–1147; T.2126: 235b4).

40. T.2126: 54.240b26–c18. On the genre of early Chinese *dhāraṇī-sūtra*s see Strickmann 1990:79–81.

41. The *Kuan-ting ching* is now believed to be a Chinese apocryphon of the fifth century. For a study of this text, see Strickmann 1990; on Śrīmitra see Zürcher 1972:1.103–104 and Yoritomi 1979:120.

42. Chih-t'ung, a lesser-known seventh-century monk, is credited with the translation of four *dhāraṇī* works preserved in the Taishō canon (T.1035, T.1038, T.1057, and T. 1103); see Yoritomi 1979:121.

43. T.2126: 54.240c6–14. Tao-hsien's biography is found in fascicle 25 of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, T.2061: 50.870c10–871a7; see also Yoritomi 1979:123.

44. I thank Robert Gimello, who is currently working on a study of the *Hsien-mi yüan-t'ung ch'eng-fo hsin-yao chi*, for making me aware of this text and for sharing his preliminary notes on its history.

45. T.1955: 46.989c13–14.

46. For a comprehensive analysis of Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao*, see Gregory 1991: 127–135. Peter Gregory notes that Fa-tsang does not associate Ch'an with the sudden teaching; the first to do so is Ch'eng-kuan (738–839).

47. For example, he notes the presence of *dhāraṇī* in the Āgamas (Hīnayāna), the Prajñāpāramitā literature (elementary Mahāyāna), the *Chin-kuang-ming ching* 金光明經 (**Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, advanced Mahāyāna), the *Laṅkāvatāra* (sudden teachings), and the *Ta-sheng chuang-yen pao-wang ching* 大乘莊嚴寶王經 (**Avalokiteśvaraguṇa-kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, perfect teachings), thus covering each of the five teachings (T.1955: 46.1004a2–6).

48. T.1955: 46.1004a13–14.

49. Chun-t'i is apparently related to the Indian goddess Durgā. Her worship in China is based on the **Cundīdevī-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by

Vajrabodhi (T.1075), Amoghavajra (T.1076), and Divākara (T.1077). See MZ 3.2526a–2527c.

50. See, for example, T.1955: 46.996a9–11 and 1004b10.

51. These include the *Li-ch'ü ching* 理趣經 (Sk. *Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), extant in several translations including one by Amoghavajra (T. 243); the *Chin-kang-ting ching* (Sk. *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*), translated by Vajrabodhi in 723 (T.866) and Amoghavajra in 753 (T.865); the apocryphal *Shou-leng-yen ching* (**Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, T.945); and the *Ch'ien-shou ch'ien-yen Kuan-shih-yin p'u-sa kuang-ta yüan-man wu-ai ta-pei-hsin t'o-lo-ni ching* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (Sk. *Nīlakaṇṭha[ka]*?), translated by Bhagavaddharma (d.u.; T. 1060).

52. On Kūkai's understanding of the relationship between exoteric and esoteric teachings, see Hakeda 1972:64–66 and Abé 1999.

53. In the 950s Lo-ch'i Hsi-chi 螺溪羲寂 (919–987), a central figure in the revival of T'ien-t'ai, gained the cooperation of Ch'ien Ch'u 錢俶 (Chung-i 忠懿, r. 948–978), ruler of Wu-Yüeh 呉越 (a kingdom that covered parts of modern Chekiang and Kiangsu), in an attempt to recover lost T'ien-t'ai texts from Korea and Japan. The Ch'an master Te-chao 德韶 (891–972) was also involved in these efforts. See *Sung kao-seng chuan*, T.2061: 50.752b14–16; *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, T.2035: 49.190c21–191a7; and the discussion in Chappell et al. eds. 1983:25–30.

54. T.2126: 54.240c16–17; *HTC* 150.150a8. This reference to Japanese monks seems to have taken at least one contemporary Japanese scholar unawares. While both the Taishō and *HTC* copies of the text clearly read *jih-pen ta-shih* 日本大師, Makita Tairyō emends (or misreads?) the *jih* to *yüeh*, yielding 曰く、もと大師は, a rather forced interpretation (*Kokuyaku issaikyō, shiden-bu* 國譯一切經、史傳部, vol. 13, 25). The textual history of the *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh* is unclear, and it is possible that this line is a later interpolation.

55. T.2035: 49.295b11–14. In fascicle 40 of the same text the terms "*mi-chiao*" and "*yü-ch'ieh mi-chiao*" appear in conjunction with the teachings of Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi (T.2035: 49.373b26–c16).

56. *HTC* 130.460c–462c; see also the comments in Weinstein 1989:263.

57. On the nature and extent of such "mixed" Tantric practices in China, see esp. Strickmann 1996.

58. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, for example, states: "In a true sense this [*Prajñāpāramitā*] is the body of the Tathāgatas. As the Lord has said: 'The dharma-bodies are the Buddhas, the Lords. But, monks, you should not think that this individual body is my body. Monks, you should see Me from the accomplishment of the dharma-body.' But that Tathāgata-body should be seen as brought about by the reality-limit, i.e., by the perfection of wisdom" (trans. Conze 1973: 116).

59. The *Vimalakīrti* famously proclaims: "The buddha-body is the dharma-body," and "All of the bodies of the tathāgatas are dharma-bodies, not worldly bodies. The Buddha, the World-Honored One, is transcendent to the three realms" (T.475: 14.539c1 and 542a, respectively; cf. Lamotte 1976:39, 83). See also the note on the buddhology of the *Vimalakīrti* in Lamotte 1976:39.

60. The second chapter of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* claims that a tathāgata's life is immeasurable and that his body can never yield a relic because it is uncreated

and unarisen. The text asks: "How can there be a relic in a body without bone or blood?" (Emmerick 1970:7).

61. The *Samādhirāja-sūtra* speaks of one thousand billion buddhas, all with the same name, with sons and disciples of the same name, all born in Kapilavastu, and so on, thus effacing the "contingency" of Śākyamuni (T.639: 15.551b7–13).

62. The verses at the beginning of the *Laṅkāvatāra* close with the following: "The true essence of the buddha-dharma is neither existent nor nonexistent. The mark of the dharma is always thus—such distinctions are merely the product of one's own mind. One who perceives objects as real entities does not perceive the buddha. Even the mind that does not abide in discrimination is unable to perceive the buddha. Not perceiving any activity whatsoever—this is called perceiving the buddha. One who is able to perceive in such a manner perceives the tathāgata" (Bodhiruci translation, T.671: 16.516b24–29).

63. The *Kuan P'u-hsien p'u-sa hsing-fa ching*, one of the "discernment sūtras," states that "Śākyamuni is known as Vairocana, the All-Pervading One. The abode of that Buddha is called Ever Quiescent and Radiant" (T.277: 9.392c15–17). This identification is repeated by Chih-i in his *Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i* 法華三昧懺儀 (T.1941: 46.953a27–28) as well as in his *Miao-fa lien-hua ching wen-chü* (T.1718: 34.128a26–28). See also the discussion in Stone 1999:25–26.

64. Among the growing body of work on orientalist constructions of "Protestant Buddhism," see esp. Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988; Schopen 1991; and the collection of essays in Lopez ed. 1995.

65. In a similar vein, Lopez notes that "Tantra functions as a lamented supplement in the European construction of an original Buddhism" and suggests that modern scholars may be "using the term 'tantra' to resolve contradictions that are ours alone, that is, which do not arise within 'the tradition'" (1996:99 and 103, respectively).

Appendix 2

1. Scholars believe that the "Ch'an" lineages known as Ching-chung tsung 淨衆宗 and Pao-t'ang tsung 保唐宗 placed particular emphasis on this sūtra (Kamata 1965:400 n. 16). Note also that Wu-chu 無住 (714–774), an important Ch'an figure in Szechwan, was originally a lay disciple of Ch'en Ch'u-chang 陳楚章 (d.u.), who, according to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, was an incarnation of Vimalakīrti (Yanagida 1976:239; Broughton 1983:19–20).

2. *HY*.9, f.20–22. For more on the *Hai-k'ung ching*, see Chapter 1. For a detailed discussion of the parallels between the *Vimalakīrti* (both the Kumārajīva and Hsüan-tsang translations) and the *Hai-k'ung ching*, see Kamata 1968:89–100.

3. Cf. the translations by Dharmarakṣa, T.285: 10.476b; Kumārajīva, T.286: 10.514c; Buddhabhadra, T.278: 9.558c; Śikṣānanda, T.279: 10.194a; and Śīladharma, T.287: 10.553a.

4. See the translations by Guṇabhadra, T.670: 16.510a; Bodhiruci, T.671: 16.556a; and Śikṣānanda, T.672: 16.620a.

5. Nanjio edition 118.15, cited in Kamata 1965:384.

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Index

Bold page numbers refer to the primary discussion of a term.

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